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Vol. I]

NOVEMBER, 1943

[Part 1

**THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
GANGANATHA JHA
RESEARCH INSTITUTE**



ALLAHABAD

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FOREWORD

For nearly a quarter of a century, if not more, it was impossible for any one here to talk of the Allahabad University and not to think at the same time of Sir Ganga Nath Jha. His reputation as a Sanskrit scholar had spread far beyond the confines of this country. It is only for those, who know Sanskrit or who are well-versed in Hindu philosophy to give a correct estimate of the contribution he made to the exposition of Hindu thought, but as one, who has been more or less interested in the various aspects of our intellectual life, I can say that wherever I went in India or outside I found scholars and savants speaking of him in terms of the greatest respect and veneration. I can say from personal knowledge that his translation of the Hindu Law text books, which I have on several occasions used in courts of law, are most illuminating and are monuments of learning and research. He lived the typical life of a Hindu Pandit,—by instinct and tradition a conservative, he was intensely proud of the contribution of our ancestors in the realm of thought and he considered it his duty—and none was more qualified than he—to interpret that thought to us in our generation. Above everything else he was the living example of—a life dedicated to the service of scholarship. If it is true to say of any one it may be said of him in all sincerity that his whole life was a life of plain living and high thinking. Altogether whether we look to his intellectual life or to the high standard of purity which he set in private life, he was a most valuable asset to the Allahabad University.

I am, therefore, glad that his admirers have taken the step to establish an Institution to be named after him. I am also glad that during the few months that we have

been working we have been able to raise something like Rs. 60,000. We are working for a much higher figure and when once we succeed in getting the necessary funds we hope to have a building of the Institute and to instal in it a library of Sanskrit and Persian and to bring out a series of books written by scholars and experts to perpetuate his memory. Meanwhile it has been decided by the Committee of which I happen to be the Chairman to issue a Journal as a tribute to his memory. I hope that this Journal will make a wide appeal and encourage us in the task we have undertaken out of respect to his memory.

TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

NOVEMBER, 1943.

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OURSELVES

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Hony. F.R.A.S., closed a life of single-minded devotion to studies in Indian Philosophy, Hindu Law and Jurisprudence and other branches of Sanskrit learning at Allahabad on November 10, 1941. It is mainly his translation of most of our philosophical classics which has aroused the present widespread interest in Indian Philosophy in this country and abroad and our debt to him is thus unrepayable.

It occurred to some of the friends, admirers, and pupils of the great Pandit and philosopher that our gratitude could be given a visible shape by founding in his name an Oriental Research Institute in which the torch lighted by him could be kept burning, in which researches into our cultural heritage could be pursued, if possible, with his devotion. Dr. Jha himself could not have liked any other memorial. "Continue to be students" was always the advice he gave to scholars.

The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, Dr. Sir Kameshwara Singh, took the initiative and made a donation of Rupees Twenty-Five Thousand. With this initial grant in hand, an appeal was issued for more funds and Sir Padmapat Singhanian of Cawnpore, H. H. Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal, and other donors came forward with donations big and small.

Though we have not yet been able to collect together three lakhs of rupees which are necessary for the scheme

to start with and ten lakhs for its proper functioning, our receipts have been encouraging enough for making a start on the second anniversary of the *tithi* of Dr. Jha's journey to the other world, as a homage to his sacred memory.

Panditaji was born in Mithila in Bihar. But the greater part of his life was spent in the U.P., earlier as a student at Benares and later as a teacher and a Vice-Chancellor and also after retirement as a continuous worshipper of *Sarasvatī* at Allahabad. He thus properly belonged to the U.P.

He was the first man in this province to undertake serious research work on the Arts side. His example has spread in other centres of learning in the U.P. and good work is going on all over the province in various branches of Oriental Studies. It is but right that this province should raise a memorial in his honour. A Central Oriental Institute has been a great desideratum in this province and we hope that our Institute will remove that long-felt want. Certain other provinces can boast of similar Institutes but in a vast country like India there is room for more and more of these. We hope that this organisation associated with the name of one of the most illustrious of Orientalists of recent times will receive the co-operation of scholars all over the country and abroad.

We are deeply grateful to His Excellency the Governor of the U.P., His Excellency the Governor of Bihar, Professor Dr. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Dr. Panna Lal and Dr. Bhagavan Das for the messages they have sent to us.

As the first sign of our life we are publishing today this first number of a Quarterly Research Journal. We are highly thankful to the scholars from different parts of the country who have sent us their valuable contributions. Our one regret is that for lack of space we could not publish all of them in the first number. Others will go

into the second and subsequent issues. The enthusiastic response received from the scholarly world is a good augury and a proof, if proof is needed, of the esteem in which Dr. Jha was held by scholars. As we secure more funds, we shall come forward with other publications, of texts, translations and studies. May God Almighty enable us to make the Institute a fit memorial to the great scholar and may those efforts help in the spread of higher knowledge in the land! Our prayer, therefore, is :

आरम्भोऽयं शुभायास्तु पत्रस्य संसदस्तथा ।
विद्यायाः प्रसरो येन संसिद्धेज्जगतीतले ॥

November 17, 1943.

MESSAGES

A year ago the United Provinces lost one of its most distinguished citizens. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, and no more fitting tribute to his memory could be paid than by the establishment of a Quarterly Research Journal devoted to Oriental Studies. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha did much in his life-time to further classical study in India, and I wish the new Journal every success in carrying on his valuable work in his memory.

M. G. HALLET

Governor, United Provinces.

Although the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha's work lay in the United Provinces, he was a Bihari by birth and belonged to one of the best known families of the Province. Bihar may well be proud of such a distinguished son. But Dr. Jha belongs not to any particular Province but to India as a whole and it is appropriate that his memory should be honoured in the way which would have appealed to him most by the production of a Quarterly Journal devoted to research in Oriental Studies. Such an undertaking is bound to receive support not only from the Provinces with which the Mahamahopadhyaya was most intimately connected but from Scholars in every part of India.

R. F. MUDIE

Governor, Bihar.

Professor Sir Ganganatha Jha's name will be remembered for long in connection with the development of Sanskrit studies in India. His monumental translations of Sanskrit Classics afford the source and material for a large number of dissertations for the Ph.D. and D.Litt. Degrees of Indian Universities. His combination of Orthodox learning with the Western methods of criticism is a rare phenomenon. I hope that his life and work will serve as an inspiration for others to follow in his footsteps and contribute to the advancement of Oriental Learning.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

It is in the fitness of things that a Research Journal should be instituted to preserve the memory of Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganatha Jha for he was more than anything else a student and a teacher inspiring those around him by his shining example and encouraging them with sympathetic understanding. It is more than a quarter of a century ago that I first had the good fortune of meeting him. In connection with my Studies in Gupta Chronology, I was engaged in finding the proper interpretation of one of the Mandisor inscriptions and came to the conclusion that the meaning which Fleet sought to put on it was unnatural and forced to support a pre-conceived idea. Naturally, as a very young student in the field of research, I felt considerable hesitation in challenging an acknowledged master like Fleet. I turned to Ganganatha Jha. He gave me a great deal of his time and attention and finally, to my surprise and unspeakable joy, gave me a written opinion upholding my interpretation as against Fleet. That encouraged me to publish my results and correct many inaccuracies in Gupta Chronology, and my views were at once accepted by historians (*vide* Vincent Smith's *History of India*). I attribute the foundations

of my interest and confidence in historical research to Ganganatha Jha, whose name will always remain with me as a sacred and revered memory.

PANNA LALL

I cordially welcome the starting of the *Sir Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Journal*, and have every hope that it will do justice to the great learning of the departed Savant, my dear and now much missed friend, and will, at the same time, put *real life* into Sanskrit learning, language, literature (which Western Orientalists, not wholly without reason, regard as *dead*), by bringing them into active *helpful* touch with the various departments of the daily life of the Indian people; *e.g.*, by showing how the ancient 'Arṣa' principles of *Rāja-Śāstra* (*nīti*) and *Samāja-Śāstra* and *Artha Śāstra* can be synthesised with those of modern Western Politics, Socionomics, and Economics; how the fundamental ideas of *Āyurveda* and the other *Upavedas* can be co-ordinated with those of the corresponding Western medical and other sciences; how the basic notions of *Jyotiṣa* can be reconciled with those of modern Astronomy; how modern Western metaphysics and psychology lead right up to *Vedānta-Sāṅkhya-Yoga* and so forth;—and, all this governed and inspired by the definite *purpose* of lifting up the life of the Indian People from the depths of moral, intellectual, economical, domestic, social, political, and spiritual degradation, into which it has fallen.

I wish every success to the Journal along these lines.

BHAGAVAN DAS

KALPA OR THE WORLD-CYCLE

By DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY

In the Hindu astronomical works and also in the Purāṇas the creator of the world is assigned a day of 1000 *Yugas* and a night of the same duration. The world is stated to disappear at the end of the period and to reappear in its original form at the close of the night period. This fantastic notion seems to have its origin in the Vedic eclipse-cycle of 1000 *Yugas*. We may go so far as to say that the Vedic statement that the creator sets the sun and the moon as before (*Sūryā-candramasau dhātā yathāpūrvamkalpayat diram ca prthivīm cāntarikṣamatho srah*, X. 190, 3) is taken to mean the creation of the world at the end of a *Kalpa*. The *Bhagavad-gītā* says (VIII. 17-19):—Those who know the creator's day-period of 1000 *Yugas* and also his night period of same length understand what a day and night mean precisely. At the dawn of the creator's day the whole universe manifests itself from the unknown and lies merged within the same unknown at night. Thus the appearance and disappearance of the world with the same life and matter as before are said to recur cycle after cycle of 1000 *Yugas*.

A *Yuga* means *Parra* or a fortnight. As pointed out in "*The Drapsa*" and also in "*The Eclipse-cult*", the Vedic eclipse-cycle of 1000 *Yugas* or *Parras* of $14\frac{1}{2}$ days each is equal to forty years nearly, while in the fancied world-cycle it is interpreted to mean 1000 *Yugas* of 12000 divine years, or 4,32,0000 human years. If we take a *Parra* to be equal to 14 days, as the Vedic poets seem to have done avoiding fraction, then 1000 *Parras*, or 14000 days come to be nearly equal to 39 years and a few months. Splitting this period into two parts of 7000 days each, the

Vedic poets called each part a *Sapta-puruṣa*-cycle, a *Puruṣa*-cycle being taken to be a period of 1000 days, with at least three visible eclipses, solar or lunar or both together on an average. 1029 days constitute three nodal or eclipse years of 343 days each. In each eclipse year no more than four eclipses, two solar and two lunar, can possibly occur. Sometimes, there may be in the same locality one visible eclipse or none at all in a nodal year. In three nodal years there can possibly be no more than 12 eclipses and not less than three visible eclipses in the same locality. Eclipses are variously called in the Vedas. They were sometimes called three brothers, or three fathers, *i.e.*, father, grand-father, and great-grand-father. The three descriptive designations given to the three eclipses of a cycle of 1000 days are *Paṭara*, one of dusky appearance, *Viklīḍha*, one of black colour, and *Pīṅga*, one of yellow colour. An eclipse is generally called a *Putra*, or *Vatsa*, or *Prajā*, all meaning a son. In *R. V.* 1, 164, 1 the three eclipses are called *Palita*, grey, *Aśna*, black, and *Ghṛtapṛsthā*, as yellow as ghee. If there were 17 eclipses in the order 4, 4, 2, 5, and 2 in five successive cycles of 1000 days or rather five successive years, this rare occurrence of 17 seems to have received the name of *Prajāpati* or *Viṣṇu*. The mnemonic formula denoting this phenomenon is “*Āśrūcaya, astu śrausaṭ, Yaja, yeyajāmahe, rausaṭ*”, where each of the seventeen syllables stands for an eclipse. In “*The Drapsa*” I took this formula to signify a cycle of 17 years. Now, I find that it signifies rather the occurrence of 17 eclipses in the order noted above.

The *Apri* hymns contain a formula of offerings to be made to *Indra* on the days of eclipses observed in the course of 33 years made up of two cycles, namely, one of 19 years and the other of 13 years with one intercalary year. The number of eclipses observed during the minor cycle of 13

years is stated to be not less than 33 and not more than 35. They are sometimes counted as eleven on earth, eleven in air, and eleven in the sky, and at other times as eight *Vasus*, eleven *Rudras*, twelve *Ādityas*, and two called *Dyāvāpṛthivī*, earth and sky. The thirty-three gods connected with the *Apri* hymns are not only year-gods, but eclipse-gods. Eclipses of smaller digits are called lambs (*Avis*) and those of greater digits bulls. In the *Mantras* of *Prayājas* and *Anuyājas* connected with the *Apri* hymns *Indra's* age is given in terms of eclipses called *Tryaris* or three lambs in the course of 18 months, *Pañcāvis* or five lambs in the course of 30 months or in the course of 6 months, three being observed on one node in the course of a month, and two on the other node after six months. Draught oxen, a cow with a calf, or a bull are names of eclipses of larger digits. Counting the number of all visible eclipses, both solar and lunar, given in the Eclipse-table in Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, the average number of visible eclipses for a hundred years is found to be about 252, 99 solar and 153 lunar. As pointed out in "The Eclipse-cult", *Sambara* is a demon causing an eclipse, and his three forts (*Puras*) are usually called an iron-castle, a silver-castle, and a gold-castle. In animal nomenclature they are called a black lamb, a white lamb, and a red lamb. (Tait. S. 6, 2, 3; and 2, 1, 3). In *R. V.* 2, 12, 11 *Indra* is stated to have found out *Sambara* hidden in the mountains in the fortieth autumn and destroyed his 90, 99, or 100 castles (*R. V.* 1, 130, 7; 2, 19, 6; 4, 26, 3; 2, 14, 6; 4, 30, 2; 6, 31, 4.). This is the Vedic way of stating that there were 90 to 100 eclipses, both solar and lunar, observed in the course of 39 years and two months, which is equal to two cycles of 19 years. If the average for 39 years is about 100 eclipses, the average for thirteen years, which is one-third of 39, is 33 eclipses, sometimes it may be 34 or 35.

These eclipse-gods should, however, be distinguished from the gods of intercalary months known as *Dhātā*, *Aryamā*, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Aṃśa*, *Bhaga*, and *Indra*, the eighth called *Mārtanḍa* having been rejected as still-born. The total number of these gods of intercalary months is said to amount to 720 in the course of 2280 years, which is equal to 120 cycles of 19 years each. The number of these gods would have come to 840, if the god of the seventh intercalary month in each cycle of 19 years is also counted. But only six were counted in each cycle. (*cf. Calcutta Review* for September 1942). The purpose for which the intercalary months are devised is to equalise the lunar months with the solar months so as to bring the sun and the moon together at the year-end, *i.e.*, to make the solar and the lunar years terminate on the new moon day. Hence, the cycle of 19 years is an eclipse-cycle and also luni-solar cycle. Likewise, the cycle of 33 years ($19 + 14 = 33$) is also a luni-solar cycle in which 33 lunar years with one intercalary year and 32 solar years terminate on the same day, *i.e.*, on a new-moon day. It is made of 19 years plus 7 intercalary months, plus 13 years, and plus 5 intercalary months, *i.e.*, 32 ordinary lunar years and one intercalary lunar year. Thus, the cycle of 19 years, 13 years, 30 years and two months are all lustrams or purificatory years; since seven, five, and 14 intercalary months called *Malamūsas* or dirty months are got rid of in those cycles. They were originally called *Kalpa* days, since the sun and the moon came into conjunction on the last day of those cycles.

On the basis of the definition of *Yugas*, *Manvantaras*, and *Kalpa* found in the *Purāṇas* and the *Amarakośa*, the original scheme of *Kalpas* may be recast as follows :—

- (1) A day and night make two units of time called *day-kalpa* and *night-kalpa* for men.

- (2) Two halves of 14 days each of a lunar month make day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for Fathers in heaven.
- (3) Two halves of a year make a day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for gods.
- (4) Seventy-one or seventy-two such *Yugas* or pairs of day-and-night-*kalpas* make a *Manvantara*.
- (5) Twice fourteen *Manvantaras* ($2 \times 14 \times 72$ days and nights) or two thousand *Yugas* or pairs of units of time make a day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for *Brahmā*, the Creator.
- (6) In other words, 1000 days or $2\frac{1}{4}$ lunar years with one intercalary month make a *Yuga* for men.
- (7) 14000 days or 1000 *Parva-yugas* with 14 intercalary months make a *Yuga* for Fathers in heaven.
- (8) 2000 *Ayana-yugas* or $2000 \times 6 \times 2 \times 14$, or $2 \times 2 \times 6 \times 14000$ days with 24×14 , or 333 intercalary months, or 940 years make a day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for the Creator. If we take a *Parva* to be equal to $14\frac{3}{4}$ days instead of 14 days, then the duration of a *Kalpa* would come to 500 years nearly or to 1000 years taking day-and-night-*kalpas* together. It should be particularly noticed how number seven forms an important factor in the above *kalpa* scheme. The verses of *Amara* are as follows :—

“*Māsena syādahorātraḥ paitro varṣeṇa daivataḥ.
Daive yugasahasre dve Brāhmaḥ kalpau tu tau
nṛṇām.*”

Manvantaram tu dicyānām yugānāmekasaptatiḥ.”

It needs no explanation that this simple scheme of days, fortnights, months, years, lustrum of five years, with

eclipse-cycles of 19, 13, 39 years was transformed into huge *yugas*, *Manvantaras*, and *kalpas* of astronomical *Siddhāntas*.

The return of the sun and the moon to the same point with the same eclipse phenomena cycle after cycle or *kalpa* after *kalpa* is hinted in the R̥gvedic *Śunaśśepa-sūktas* or hymns addressed by *Śunaśśepa* to king *Varuṇa* for release from the sacrificial post to which he was tied to be sacrificed. Before taking up the verses it seems necessary to know the legend of *Śunaśśepa*, as given in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* :—

“King Hariścandra, son of Vedhas of Ikṣvāku line, was childless, although he had one hundred wives. In his house lived Parvata and Nārada. The latter advised the king to go to *Varuṇa* and say to him “May a son be born to me, and I shall sacrifice him to you.” *Varuṇa* said “Yes”. Accordingly, a son, named *Rohita*, was born, but the king put off the sacrifice from time to time saying (1) let the victim pass ten days (during which the child is impure in the *Sūtikāgṛha*); (2) let his teeth come; (3) let his teeth fall out; (4) let his teeth come again; (5) and let him become a warrior (*Kṣatriya*) girt with his armour. *Varuṇa* granted all these requests successively. When he became a warrior the king asked him to consent to be sacrificed; but he said “No”; and taking his bow ran away to the forest and lived there for a year. *Varuṇa* seized Hariścandra whose belly thereupon swelled by dropsy. *Rohita* heard of this and five times he set out successively in the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years to go back to his father; but each time *Indra* came in the form of a *Brāhmaṇa* and induced him not to go. While he was travelling in the forest in the sixth year, he met a starving *R̥ṣi*, named Ajīgartha, son of Sūyavasa, a descendant of *Aṅgiras*. Ajīgartha had three sons, Śunaḥpuccha, Śunaśśepa, and Sunolāṅgūla. Purchasing

the middle son for a hundred cows (for the father would not part with the first and the mother with the last son), *Rohita* came to his father, who then went to *Varuṇa* and said : "I shall sacrifice this man to you". *Varuṇa* said : "All right; a *Brāhmaṇa* is better than a *Kṣatriya*" Then commenced the sacrifice called *Rājasūya*, in which *Viśvāmitra* officiated as the *Hotṛ*, *Jamadagni* as *Adhvaryu*, *Vasiṣṭha* as *Brahmā*, and *Ayāsya* as *Udgātṛ*. They found no body to bind *Śunaśśepa* to the sacrificial post and kill him. His father *Ajīgartha* volunteered to do these acts for another hundred cows. He bound him and came whetting his sword. Then *Śunaśśepa* prayed to *Varuṇa* and other gods, and at last to the *Uṣas* in three verses, of which the first, as soon as he repeated, loosened the cord, the second thinned *Hariścandra*'s belly, and the last completely liberated *Śunaśśepa* and made *Hariścandra* well again."

In my article entitled "*Test of the Eclipse-cycle*"¹ I showed how *Rohita* meant a lunar eclipse of *Pīṅga* or yellowish colour occurring in each cycle of 1000 days. I see no reason why *Rohita* of the above story should not be taken to be a lunar eclipse of the same type. *Hariścandra*, as the name itself implies, is the moon, and his son *Rohita* can be no other than the same eclipsed moon, as the three eclipses of a cycle are usually called father, son, and grand-son (*R.V.* 1, 164. 1). I am inclined to take *Śunaśśepa*, and his two brothers to be the names of the same three lunar eclipses known as *Paṭara*, *Viklidha*, and *Pīṅga*. Mr. Rāja Rao, M.A., thinks that these are some three stars in the region of *Canis Major* and *Canis Minor*, the seven Bears, and the Dog-star, and that *Ajīgartha*, meaning a deep pit of a serpent, is *Aśleṣā*, the deity of which is *Ahi*, a serpent. As the lunar eclipses happened near these stars, they were also affected by the

¹ The *Poona Orientalist*, January, 1941.

shadow and made to pray to *Varuṇa* for release. It is of no consequence whether the eclipsed moon in the region of Cancer and Leo is called by these names or some three more stars near the Dog-star (*Sunāśīra*) in the same region are so called. What is of great importance is the occurrence of a lunar eclipse in that region, the sun being in the constellation called *Śatabhiṣaj* from which *Aśleṣā* and *Mughā* are the thirteenth and fourteenth asterisms, being 180 from the sun. The verses in which the identification of *Śunaśśepa* with one of these three eclipses occurring cycle after cycle is hinted are verses 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of *R. V.* 1, 24 and verse 8 of 1, 25.

'Hundred, nay a thousand, are thy physicians; may thy great and deep good-will be noble; drive away *Nirriti* (Eclipse-demon) far; and remove my sinful bonds.

(The asterism, *Śatabhiṣaj*, whose deity is *Varuṇa*, is also meant here.)

'Those Bears that are set up high in the sky are seen at night and go out somewhere during the day. Unaltered and uncontradicted are thy laws. O *Varuṇa*; and at night the moon goes to the *Nakṣatra* with lustre.

(The implication is that the moon is devoid of her usual lustre and that the Bears are not clearly visible, due to eclipse)

'Therefore, I approach thee bowing with prayers; the same thing the sacrificer hopes to attain to by his food-offerings; O Praise-worthy *Varuṇa*, take this prayer to thy mind without anger; do not rob me of my life.

'The same is the night; the same the day; so they say to me; the same thought rises in my breast; the same is King *Varuṇa* to whom *Śunaśśepa* once prayed for release when caught hold of before; I am the same *Śunaśśepa* that is now caught hold of and prays for release as before.

(Believing that *Śunaśśepa* is a human substitute for *Rohita* to be sacrificed, Skandasvāmī, the commentator, says—“*Atītakalpe yaśśunaśśepa āsīt ahamera saḥ grbhītaḥ grhītaḥ*”—‘the same *Śunaśśepa* who was once caught hold of in a former *Kalpa* of 1000 divine *Yugas* am I now in bonds on the same night of the same day of the same year in the present *Kalpa* of 1000 divine *Yugas*.’ For reasons set forth above I hold that this is a reference to the return of the same kind of *Rohita* eclipse in a second cycle of 1000 days in the sixth year.)

*Śunaśśepo hyahvadgrbhītastrīṣrādityaṃ drupadeṣu
baddhaḥ.*

*Arainaṃ rājā varuṇassasṛjyādridrānadabdhō
rimumoktu pāsān. 13*

‘(I), *Śunaśśepa* called upon thee, O *Varuṇa*, when I was bound to three posts (Foot-holds of the tree on three occasions before): May King *Varuṇa*, omniscient and unassailed, release the same *Śunaśśepa* from the bonds.’

Here the expression “*Trīṣu drupadeṣu*” means on three foot-holds of a tree, and not three ropes and one tree or post. Skandasvāmī says that though there is as a rule only one *Pāsā* or rope to bind the victim by its head to the post, the reference to three bindings, one round the neck, one round the loins, and one round the legs here is an exception in the case of a human victim like *Śunaśśepa* with a view to make him firm and unshaken at the time of slaughter. There is, however, no room for this objection raised and the explanation offered by the commentator. The text clearly mentions three foot-holds of a tree, implying three bindings on three different occasions. The acts performed in the sacrificial hall are, as I have

pointed out in the "Eclipse-cult", imitations of the eclipse phenomena observed in the sky. Accordingly, the heavenly victim corresponding to the human victim in the sacrificial hall is the eclipsed moon, as pointed out above. What then is the *Drupada* or foot-hold of the tree to which the eclipsed planet was believed to have been bound? It is the *Aśvattha* or *Pippala* tree which is described in *R.V.* 1, 164, 20 as the abode of the sun and the moon. Accordingly, it may be inferred that the *Pippal* tree was one of the constellations, through which the two planets make their yearly and monthly revolutions. While explaining Pāṇini IV. iii. 48 Vāsudeva Dikṣita, the author of *Bāḷamanoramā*, says that *Kālūpaka* means a debt payable at the time when pea-cocks have their feathers fully grown; *Aśratthaka*, a debt payable at the time when the fruits of *Pippala* tree ripen; and *Yarabusaka*, a debt payable at the time when barley grains ripen. Again, while explaining Pāṇini IV. ii. 5 (*Saṁjñāyām śravaṇāśratthābhyām*) he says that *Aśvattha* means the constellation *Aśvinī*. Others take it to signify the asterism *Śravaṇā* on the authority of *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* identifying *Aśvattha* with *Śravaṇā*. This interpretation seems to be justifiable in as much as the *Aśrattha* tree bears fruit at the summer season when the moon becomes full in *Śravaṇā* and the sun arrives at *Puṣya*. At the time of Pāṇini the arrival of the sun at the constellation of *Puṣya* marked the time of summer season and summer solstice. Accordingly, if the asterism *Puṣya* marked the top of the *Aśrattha* tree, its root or foot must necessarily be in *Śravaṇā*. New moon at *Śravaṇā* marked the arrival of winter solstice and new moon at *Puṣya* the arrival of summer solstice. It is very well known that Pāṇini flourished at about B.C. 500 to 400, when Mahāvira, the author of *Sūryaprajñapti*, lived and preached Jainism. The *Vedāṅgajyautiṣa* located the summer sol-

tice at the first half of *Aśleṣā* and the winter solstice at *Dhanīṣṭhā*. Making allowance for defective observations, late Svamikanṇu Pillāe, the author of Indian Ephemeris, fixed the date of the *Jyantiṣa* at about 800 to 900 B.C. Others put it at 1200 to 1400 B.C. From this it follows that the solstices were at the end of *Aśleṣā* and the beginning of *Dhanīṣṭhā* at about 1300 to 1400 B.C. and that the same must have been located at the end of *Maghā* and the beginning of *Śatabhiṣaj* about 2300 B.C., and at the latter half of *Pūrraphalgunī* and the first half of *Pūrrabhādrapada* at about B.C. 3100. This is in complete agreement with the conclusions arrived at by B. G. Tilak on consideration of the shifting of the vernal equinox from *Mṛgaśīrṣa* to *Kṛttikā*, and by Jacobi on consideration of the precession of the solstices from *Phalgunīs* to *Aśleṣā*.

There is also an additional proof furnished by the nomenclature of the constellations. The constellation of *Pūrrabhādrapada* is called *Aherbudhnya*, the tail of the serpent and the constellation of *Aśleṣā* is called *Ahi*, serpent. The reason why these *Nakṣatras* are called the tail and the mouth of the serpent seems to be the frequency of eclipses when the serpent *Śarabhānu* is believed to devour the sun at solar and the moon at lunar eclipses. If the serpent's mouth is *Aśleṣā*, then its tail, the other node, must necessarily be the asterism of *Dhanīṣṭhā*, which is 180 from it. Similarly, if the constellation of *Śatabhiṣaj* is the tail, then the mouth of the serpent or the ascending node must be the *Maghās*; and if the tail is *Pūrrabhādrapada*, then its mouth must be *Pūrraphalgunī*. Similarly, *Uttarabhādrapada*, called *Aja Ekapād* and *Uttaraphalgunī* can be the tail and mouth of the serpent. The situation of the solstices in *Pūrrabhādrapada* and *Pūrraphalgunī* is mentioned in the hymn on *Rohita* in the *Atharvaveda*: it says that at one end of the thread

held by *Prajāpati* rested *Aja Ekapāda* and that the other end of the thread lay at *Pūroaphalgunī*.*

What deserves special attention in this connection is the significance and purpose of the sacrificial victims, such as a man, a horse, a cow, a goat, or sheep and the like. Unless we understand the nature of the dice-play, we cannot fully grasp the significance of the victims. In the dice-play there are two players with specified wager or stake laid before the umpire. The stage is called *Glaha* in Pāṇini (1. 3. 7) and in the *Rgveda* it is called *Glabha*, a word which is derived from the root “*Grbh*” to take. The perfect participle “*Grbhīṭa*,” used in the *Śunaśśepa* hymn (1, 24, 12) meaning ‘taken as stake,’ is from the same root. In the dice-play in the sky the two players are the sun and the moon, as stated in *R. V. X. 18*. The stake laid by them must necessarily be their own person or their horses. If the player’s own person is laid as a stake, it seems to have been called *Nara*, cow, goat, or sheep in the ratio of decreasing value corresponding to the varying digits of the eclipse. The winner not only took the defeated person as a stake, but also tied the victim to a post in his own house to be disposed of at his own pleasure. The house in the case of the sun and the moon is either foot-hold or the top of *Aśvattha* tree. The form of the play is *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Drāpara*, or *Kali*. If the sun or the moon in the game of running made a *Kṛta-yuga* or a number of *Parvas* divisible by four with no remainder, then he is considered to be the winner, as agreed upon. In solar eclipse the moon is the winner and in the lunar the sun. The defeated planet is tied to the foot-hold or top of the *Vanaspati*, the *Aśvattha* tree, to be disposed of at the will of the winner. It is probable that if the eclipse was two *Padas* out of four-*padas*, i.e.,

* ‘Test of the Eclipse-cult,’ published in the *Poona Orientalist*, January, 1941,

half, it is called *Nara*, man standing on two *Padas* or legs; if it is of four *padas*, it is a cow. If very small, it is an *Arī*, sheep; the value of one kind of victim in terms of other victims requires further investigation.

It is a game of *Tretū*, if the number of *Farcus* run leaves a remainder of three when divided by four; it is *Drāpara*, if it leaves a remainder of two when divided by four; and it is called *Kali*, if it leaves a remainder of one when divided by four.

An eclipse is regarded not merely as game of dice-play or race of running, but also a battle between the gods led by the sun or the moon, and the demons under the lead of *Śambara*, *Vṛtra*, *Nirriti*, and others of various names, when the defeated planet is searched and caught hold of to be bound to the victory pillar or set at liberty on payment of an adequate ransom of the value of a horse, a cow, a goat, a sheep, a slave, or a woman, or gold or a valuable cloth-piece. Sometimes, it is also conceived as an act of devouring one of the two planets by *Scarbhānu* and the release of the swallowed is considered to be effected by incantation and power of prayer or *Vāk*, song, in Vedic terminology.

The binding of *Śunaśśepa* thrice in his former births in one or three former *Kalpas* and the recurrence of the same binding in the present *Kalpa* referred to in verse 12 is no more than the recurrence of the *Rohita*-type of the three eclipses of the previous cycle of 1000 days. This is also implied in the 8th verse of the 25th hymn of the first *Maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda* :—

‘May king *Varuṇa* who is omniscient and who is unopposed release the same *Śunaśśepa* from the ropes (*Pāśas*). *Varuṇa* knows full well the twelve productive months and also that which comes into being along with them.’

The twelve productive months are the usual twelve months of a year and the month which is said to come along with them is the unproductive intercalary month which is called *Mala-māsa* or unclean month infested with *Nirriti* and other evil spirits. The simple contrivance which the Vedic poets had devised to ascertain the arrival of an eclipse-season was the luni-solar *Yuga* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years or more correctly 1000 days. The usual average number of eclipses for 1000 days is three, as already pointed out. Of these three one is called *Rohita* or one of reddish yellow which according to the express statement of the *Tait. Āraṇyaka* (1, 2) recurs in every cycle of 1000 days. This is the minor *Kalpa* while the major *Kalpa* is 1000 *Farra Yugas* of 14000 days equal to two cycles of 19 years each or 39 solar years and two months which we may call a *Śambara* cycle of eclipses.

From this it follows that a *Kalpa* in its origin meant an eclipse-cycle of nearly 19 years and not a period of 1000 divine *Yugas* of 4,32,0000 years, as believed by the commentator Skandasyāmī and the authors of the astronomical *Siddhāntas*.

The search for a gambler who has run away after being vanquished is mentioned in *R. V. X. 43. 5* :—

As a gambler searches (*vicitotī*) his escaped adversary, so does Indra go in quest of the sun who concealing his wealth (*sumvarga*) hid himself. No one, O Maghavan, ancient or modern, is able to imitate this thy vigour.

A FAKE (?) "BHAGAVADGĪTĀ" MS.

By DR. S. K. BELVALKAR

The search for the "original" *Bhagavadgītā* continues to be a problem as intriguing as ever. The search has followed along two main lines. The first sets forth as its goal a poem considerably reduced in size and conveying 'unitary and self-consistent' teaching. The second essays to present the world with a poem that should agree with a recorded description of its contents,¹ which makes it a poem of 745 instead of the present 700 stanzas. But what definite and compelling evidence have we to imagine that the *Bhagavadgītā* proper was at any time different originally from what we know it to be ever since the days of the commentator Śaṅkara (cir. 800 A.D.)?

That the present poem is far too lengthy for being recited on the battle-field; that it is far too technical in some places, and far too prolix in others; that its teaching and terminology are not self-consistent and have evoked a battle royal amongst the *Bhāṣyakāras*; that in places we can even catch the interpolator red-handed: such are some of the arguments urged by those that stand for an "original" *Gītā*, which Garbe at first sought to recover by cutting off, on alleged philological or objective grounds, some 172 stanzas from the current *Gītā*, and which eventually was made out by his pupil R. Otto to contain just 133 stanzas and no more. The various proofs in detail cannot be gone into in this place.² By

¹ The well-known stanza and a half included in the *Gītā-praśasti* found at the beginning of Chapter 43 of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* in the Nīlakaṇṭha recension of the *Mahābhārata*.

² See my Basu Mallik Lectures (1929), Pt. i, pp. 94—100; and "*Examination of Otto's attempted Stratification of the BG*," 1937.

way of a general remark we can say that the author of the *Mahābhārata* composed the *Bhagavadgītā* after the heat of the battle had subsided; and as the *Mahābhārata* was designed to be a Dharmaśāstra, the author gave through our poem his own exposition of the Philosophy of Right Conduct, which, naturally, could not have been altogether non-technical. Further, if—as is likely—the author attempted in that exposition to give a coherent synthesis of the divergent viewpoints current at the time, our understanding of the author will be correct only if we catch the synthetist's exact angle of vision. This has not unfortunately always been the case.³

The champions of the *Bhagavadgītā* of 745 stanzas had a much simpler problem to deal with. The earliest in the field (1917) was the *Śuddha-Dharma-Manḍala-Gītā* of 26 chapters, which was alleged to be based upon an actual MS.,⁴ the antiquity and authenticity of which have not been properly examined and established. The latest in the field (1941) is the so-called "*Bhojapatrī*"-*Gītā* edited 'from an old MS.' by Pandit Kalidas Śāstrī, the Rājavidyā of Gondal. In between came Pandit R. M. Shastri's attempt⁵ grounded on the supposition that by *Śloka* we have to understand 32 syllables; and my own attempt⁶ to prove that the traditionally recorded extent belongs not to the *Bhagavadgītā* alone, but to the *BG* and the *Gītāsāra* taken together, which, actually, in some old *Mbh.* MSS. and in the Persian translation of the Epic are found given

³ In my *BORI* Silver Jubilee series of Twentyfive Lectures (now in press) some of the commoner defects in the current interpretation of the *BG* are discussed.

⁴ On this see F. Otto Schrader's paper in the *New Indian Antiquary*, I. i. pp. 62—68.

⁵ *Allahabad University Studies*, XII (Arts and Science), pp. 66—82. On it see S. N. Tadpatrikar's paper in the *Annals, BORI*, Vol. xviii, pp. 357—360.

⁶ "The Bhagavadgītā 'Riddle' Unriddled," *Annals, BORI*, Vol. xiv, Pt. iv, pp. 335—348.

together in immediate succession.—The object of the present paper is to examine the claim of the "*Bhojapatrī*"-*Gītā* to be the "original" *Gītā* of 745 stanzas.

The *Bhagaradgītā* given in this edition follows the so-called Kashmir Recension of the poem, which the same editor had published from Gondal in 1937. In the Introduction to that edition the editor had written :

"Our one great ambition is to secure the text containing 745 stanzas. Our MS. contains 7 or rather $7\frac{1}{2}$ additional stanzas. It now remains for us to discover the 37 or 38 stanzas missing from the speech of Śrīkṛṣṇa (p. 11) We have undertaken to complete the missing stanzas of the *Gītā*. For this purpose we are sending for the copies of all these MSS. We are receiving much help from our grand Pandit Shri Hariramji Panchodi in securing old MSS. of the *Gītā* in Sanskrit or Persian. On securing the wanting MSS. of the *Gītā*, the work of completing the missing stanzas will be accelerated (p. 25)."

This urgent demand was bound to create a supply, and it was the same Pandit H. Pancholi mentioned in the above passage who came forward with a birch-bark MS definitely dated (*Sam.* 1065) and answering in every detail to the specifications demanded. After carefully examining the text of the *Bhagaradgītā* as presented by this MS. I have come to the conclusion that it is a "fake" MS. Benares has had the unenviable reputation of being the manufacturing place of fake coins, fake images, and fake antiquities of all sorts. We had no idea that the trade would spread to so ancient and revered a text as the *Bhagaradgītā*. Some of the main arguments warranting such a conclusion will be briefly stated here.⁷

⁷ I have given a fuller treatment in the *Puruṣārtha*, a Marathi monthly, for March, 1942.

The birch-bark MS, which is paraded before the world with much ado is, in the first place, not written (as is the case with old and genuine birch-bark MSS.), in *Śīradā* characters, but in *Devanāgarī* characters. Apparently, writing in old *Śīradā* characters proved too much for the Benares scribe who produced the MS. The *Devanāgarī* is written with *Prsthāmūtrās*, which was easy enough to do. The date of writing given at the end of the MS. is marked by such extreme mathematical accuracy that that itself creates a suspicion. The date runs thus :

“विक्रमसंवत् १६६५, माघ कृष्ण १, प्रतिपदी मन्दवासरे ।”

According to the North-Indian mode of reckoning.

गतसंवत् १६६५ माघ कृष्ण १ = प्रवर्तमान संवत् १६६६, पौष कृष्ण १ ।

The Full-moon preceding this *Pratipadā* falls on a Saturday (मन्दवासरे) so that one expects the *Pratipadā* itself to be on a Sunday. But the Full-moon *Tithi* in question ends with the sunset and the *Pratipadā* commences on the same Saturday after sunset. If therefore we imagine that the copying of the MS. went on in daytime and was concluded at night, we have the Saturday as well as the *Pratipadā*, and the data tally to a T. We wonder if an ordinary scribe would exactly bear in mind when the *Tithi* changed and make the entry so minutely accurate.

The text given by this new *Gītā* boldly accepts the text of the Gondal edition of 1937, preserving all its peculiarities and even blunders,* particularly in the matter of arbitrarily making a stanza consist of 2 or 6 quarters (*pādas*), without stopping to consider whether the sense-

* Thus, in BG, xv, 13 the Gondal edition reads मामाविस्व for मामाविस्व which gives no sense at all. The “*Bhojapatrī*” text (xv. 15) gives the same reading! Naturally they could not afford to sacrifice the importance of the Gondal edition by correcting its mistakes!

completion requires such shorter or longer stanzas. As the 1937 Gondal text adopted the Kashmirian recension, the "*Bhojapatrī*" edition adopts the same. But I have shown in detail^o that the Kashmirian Recension is secondary and late, because it systematically tries to normalize the archaic grammar and syntax of the current text. The claim of such a *Gītā* to be considered the "original" *Gītā* stands *ipso facto* refuted by all the accepted canons of text-criticism.

The greatest bungle of the "*Bhojapatrī*"-*Gītā* is, however, the frantic way in which it introduces all sorts of quotations from the *Upaniṣads*, old and new, to make up the full quota of Śrīkṛṣṇa's stanzas. There are full 37 such quotations, which we enumerate here *seriatim* :

—After ii. 17 we have :

आदावन्ते च यज्ञास्ति वर्तमानेऽपि तत् तथा ।
वितथैः सदृशाः सन्तोऽवितथा इव लक्षिताः ॥

The stanza disturbs the context. The body may have a beginning and an end, but the *BG* nowhere says that therefore the middle state of the body is illusory or *Māyika*. The stanza occurs in the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* ii. 6 and iv. 31. For the *BG* to quote these *Kārikās*, commonly attributed to *Gauḍapāda*, seems utterly unhistorical.

—After ii. 70 the following three stanzas are found :

यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं यस्य न वेद सः ।
विजानतामविज्ञातं विज्ञातमविजानताम् ॥
प्रतिबोधेन तद्ब्रह्म विदित्वा लभ्यतेऽमृतम् ।
ब्रह्म लब्ध्वा नैव किञ्चित्संख्यमवशिष्यते ॥
ब्रह्मज्ञानं ब्रह्मलाम् एकमेव द्विषोदितम् ।
शाखा लब्ध्वाथवा ह्येतत् शान्तिमाप्नोति शाश्वतीम् ॥

^o Compare my Introduction to the *Bhagavadgītā* with the *Anandaradhini*, pp. 18—21.

The first is with slight variation *Kena Upaniṣad* ii. 3, and the first half of the second is influenced by *Kena* ii. 4, and the second half by *BG* vii. 2. The last has not so far been traced; but it endorses the "*Anirracanīya-vāda*" which has not been so outspokenly endorsed by the *Bhagaradgītā*.

—After ii. 7 are given the following three stanzas :

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा यस्य (! येऽस्य) हृदि स्थिताः ।
 स भवत्यमृतो मर्त्यो ब्रह्म चात्र समश्नुते ॥
 यदा सर्वे प्रमिद्यन्ते हृदयस्येह ग्रन्थयः ।
 स भवत्यमृतो मर्त्य एतावदनुशासनम् ॥
 मिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्चिच्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।
 क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥

These stanzas, with slight variations, are in order *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* ii. 3. 14, ii. 3. 15, and *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* ii. 2. 8. The stanzas endorse the doctrine of "*Sadyomukti*," which would go against the *BG* insistence upon the *Jñānin* following the ordinary *Vyavahāra* in a mood of equipoise.

—After iii. 40 of the current text we find :

इन्द्रियेभ्यः परं चेतः चेतसः सत्त्वमुत्तमम् ।
 सत्त्वादय महानात्मा महतोऽव्यक्तमुत्तमम् ॥
 अव्यक्तात् तु परं ब्रह्म व्यापकं चाप्यलिङ्गकम् ।
 यज्ज्ञात्वा मुच्यते जीवो ब्रह्मृतत्वं च गच्छति ॥

These stanzas correspond to *Kaṭha* ii. 3. 7-8, which give the well-known "*Ratha-rūpaka*" (already given in its simpler form in *Kaṭha* i. 3. 10), in a later and more technical form. The *BG* having already quoted the simpler form of the metaphor at the end of Chapter iii. would not again quote the other form.

—After iii. 41 of the current text we read :

इन्द्रियाणां पृथग्भावमुदयास्तमयौ च यौ ।
 पृथगुत्पद्यमानानां ज्ञात्वा धीरो न शोचति ॥

The remarks made with reference to the previous quotation hold good more or less in this case also.

—After iv. 23 of the current text is quoted :

अहमं सदाज्ञाद इति हि ब्रह्मवेदनम् ।

ब्रह्मविद् असति ग्रासात् (! ज्ञानात्) सर्वं ब्रह्मात्मनैव हि ॥

The first half of the above is equal to *Pāśupatabrahmopaniṣad* 38rd, while the second half is 39th of the same *Upaniṣad*. It is wide of the context. It is also doubtful if the *BG* would contain quotation from such a late tract.

—After iv. 41 of the current text is found :

यथा रविः सर्वरसान् प्रभुङ्क्ते

हुताशनश्चापि हि सर्वभक्षः ।

तथैव योगी विषयान् प्रभुङ्क्ते

न लिप्यते पुण्यपापैश्च शुद्धः ॥

This is stanza 6 of the *Acadhūta Upaniṣad*, in which the well-known stanza, "Na nirodho na cotputtiḥ" (cf. *Gauḍapādakārikā* ii. 32), is also found. The work is much too late for being quoted in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

—After vi. 28 the following two stanzas are inserted :

स ब्रह्मा स शिवः सेन्द्रः सोऽञ्जरः परमः स्मृतः ।

स एव विष्णुः स प्राणः स कालाग्निः स चन्द्रमाः ॥

स एव सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यं सनातनम् ।

ज्ञात्वा तं मृत्युमत्येति नान्यः पन्था विमुक्तये ॥

These, with slight variations, equal *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 8-9. The *Upaniṣad* is old enough for being quoted in the *BG*, but is it not surprising that no indication of the quotation is found in all the available genuine MSS. and in the oldest available commentaries ?

—After vi. 29, of the current text, first half, room is made for :

संपश्यन् ब्रह्म परमं याति नान्येन हेतुना ।

This is equal to *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 14th, the *BG* having already quoted i. 10th as *BG* vi. 29th. If the

Gītā wanted to quote both the halves, it would not have composed a new half of its own with a separate verb “*ikṣate*”, which remains, in the “*Bhojaputrī*” text, syntactically unconnected.

—After vi. 29 of the current text is quoted :

आत्मानमरणिं कृत्वा प्रणवं चोत्तरारणिम् ।
ज्ञाननिर्मयनाभ्यासात् पापं दहति पुरुषः ॥

which is equal to *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 11.

—After vi. 30 of the current text :

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।
सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते ॥

is quoted, which is equal to stanza 6 of the *Īśa Upaniṣad*,

—After vii. 23 of the current text the following half stanza is inserted just to complete the half stanza,

सिद्धान् यान्ति सिद्धव्रताः ।
भूतान् भूतयजो यान्ति ॥

already found in the Kashmirian recension :

यज्ञान् विद्याधरान् यान्ति गन्धर्वास्तत्परायणाः ।

—After viii. 8 of the current text is found :

यथा नद्यः स्यन्दमानाः समुद्रे
गच्छन्त्यस्तं नामरूपे विहाय ।
तथा विद्वान् नामरूपाद्विमुक्तः
परात् परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥

This, with slight variations, is *Mundaka Upaniṣad* iii. 2. 8.

—After viii. 11 of the current text we find the following long citation from *Kena Upaniṣad* i. 4-8, and *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* i. 2. 16-17 :

यच्च वाचा नाभ्युदितमभ्युद्यते च येन वाक् ।
तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
मनुते यच्च मनसा येनाहुर्मनो मतम् ।
तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥

यच्चक्षुषा न पश्यति येन चक्षुषि पश्यन्ति ।
 तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
 शृणोति यन्न भोजेण येन भोजमिदं भुतम् ।
 तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
 प्राणीति यन्न प्राणेन प्राणः प्राणीयते यतः ।
 तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
 एतद्व्येवाक्षरं ब्रह्म एतदेवामृतं परम् ।
 एतदेवाव्ययं ज्ञात्वा यो यदिच्छेत् तदाप्नुयात् ॥
 एतदालम्बनं भ्रेष्ठमेतदालम्बनं परम् ।
 एतदालम्बनं ज्ञात्वा प्राप्नोति परमां गतिम् ॥

At this rate space could have been found for any number of stanzas! The device is much too ingenuous to pass muster.

—After viii. 13 of the current text are cited the following :

तदेतदक्षरं ब्रह्म स प्राणो वाक्मनश्च सः ।
 तत् सत्यममृतं चैव तद्विद्धि भरतर्षभ ॥
 प्राणो धनुः शरो ह्यात्मा ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते ।
 अग्रमत्तेन वेद्व्यं शरवत् तन्मयो भवेत् ॥
 धनुर्ग्रहीत्वैवमिदं महात्मां शरं ह्युपासनिश्चितं विधाय ।
 आयम्य तद्भागवतेन धीरो लक्ष्यं तदेवाक्षरमित्यवैहि ॥

These correspond to *Mundaka Upaniṣad* ii. 2. 2, 4, and 3 (in this order), and credit is due for the changes made into the original wording of the *Upaniṣad* to make them suit the *BG* context. Thus,

Tad reddharyam somya viddhi of the *Upaniṣad* becomes :
Tad viddhi Bharatarṣabha in the *Bhagavadgītā*;
Dhanur grhītauṇupaniṣadum of the *Upaniṣad* becomes :
Dhanur grhītauṇam idaṃ in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Noteworthy also is the alteration of

bhāvagatēna cetusā into *Bhāgavatena dhīro*.

—After ix. 28 of the current text we read the next two stanzas, which are respectively *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 6 and *Kaivalya* i. 7th + 1.5th:

अचिन्त्यमव्यक्तमनन्तरूपं
शिवं प्रशान्तममृतं ब्रह्मयोनम् ।
तमादिमध्यान्तविहीनमेकं
विभुं चिदानन्दमरूपमद्भुतम् ॥

उमासहायं परमेश्वरं प्रभुं त्रिलोचनं नीलकण्ठं प्रशान्तम् ।
हस्त्युग्रहरीके विरजं विशुद्धं संचिन्त्येद्ब्रह्मरूपं विशोकम् ॥

These stanzas can bear evidence to the devotion for God *Śiva* of some residents of Benares, but they do not fit in with the *Gītā* context. 48221

—After xi. 31 of the current text we read :

नारायणोऽहं पुरुषः शिवोऽहं
ब्रह्माहमस्मि सकलोऽहमस्मि ।
पूर्वोऽहमीशश्च पुरातनोऽहं
हिरण्यमयो ज्ञानरूपोऽहमस्मि ॥

Kaivalya stanza 20 is in some MSS read like this¹⁰; but as a reply to Arjuna's question it is not apposite. —The extra initial stanza which opens *BG*, chapter xiii, is generally put in the mouth of Arjuna (with the reading *Etad veditum icchāmi* in the third *pāda*); but it is given here as Kṛṣṇa's own stanza, read as :

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रज्ञमेव च ।
एतत् ते कथयिष्यामि ज्ञानं श्रेयं च भारत ॥

—After xiii. 21 of the current text is given :

प्रशसितारं सर्वेषामयीयांसमयोरपि ।
रुक्मामं स्वप्रधीगम्यं जानीयात् पुरुषं परम् ॥

This is from the *Bhavasantarāṅga Upaniṣad* ii. 42, which is not even included in the *Muktika* Canon of 108 *Upaniṣads*.

—After xv. 4, of the current text is met :

संप्राप्यैतमुषयो ज्ञानवृत्ताः
कृतात्मानो वीतरागाः प्रशान्ताः ।

¹⁰ See उपनिषदां समुच्चयः in the *Anandashram Sanskrit Series*, p. 109, footnote.

ते सर्वगं सर्वतः प्राप्य वीरा
युक्तात्मानः सर्वमेवाविशन्ति ॥

which equals, with slight variation, *Muṇḍaka* iii. 2. 5.

—After xv. 5 is inserted :

वेदान्तविज्ञानविनिश्चितार्थाः
संन्यासयोगेन च शुद्धसत्त्वाः ।
ते ब्रह्मलोके च परान्तकाले
परामृताः परिमुच्यन्ति दुःखात् ॥

This stanza is equal to *Muṇḍaka* iii. 2. 6 is equal to *Kaivalya* i. 3rd + 1.4th

—After xv. 15 of the current text room is made for :

न पुण्यपापे मम नास्ति नाशो
न जन्मदेहेन्द्रियबुद्धिरस्ति ।
न भूमिरापो मम वह्निरस्ति
न चानिलो मेऽस्ति न चाम्बरं च ॥

The first half of the stanza equals *Kaivalya* ii. 3rd, while the latter half equals *Kaivalya* ii. 4th. Immediately after the above stanza is inserted :

एवं विदित्वा परमात्मरूपं गुहाशयं निष्कलमद्वितीयम् ।
समस्तबाह्यं सदसद्विहीनं प्रयाति शुद्धं परमात्मरूपम् ॥

the first half of which equals *Kaivalya* ii. 4th, and the second half, *Kaivalya* ii. 5th.

* * * *

Comment on an "original" *Bhagavadgītā* text concocted in the above fashion is quite superfluous. If this was the original *Gītā*, we have every right to ask why it had remained unknown to all the *Bhāṣyakāras* all these centuries. To me it seems obvious that the Gondal editor as well as (possibly) his Benares agent, Pandit Pancholi, have been the victims of a clever and unscrupulous deception, which it has become almost a sacred duty to expose. I am, however, willing to hear the arguments on the other side,

TWO SANSKRIT MEMORANDA OF 1787

BY MR. S. N. SEN

A masterful person was Warren Hastings. Intent on having his own way in everything he rode roughshod over all opposition reasonable or perverse. It is needless to say that he was not always right, nor did he receive impartial justice from contemporary critics in every instance. His autocratic methods, fully justified as they were by success, naturally made many enemies who thwarted in India, carried their propaganda at home to the greater prejudice of their powerful opponent's interest and Hastings found himself impeached for his alleged misdemeanours after his return to England. His strong rule however had won for him the goodwill and admiration of many Indians, and they hastened to testify to the great qualities of the illustrious pro-consul when the news reached this country. Four testimonials about Hastings's solicitude for the welfare of the Company's subjects came from Benares alone. The first of these bore two hundred and seventy-seven seals of the notables of the holy city including the Maharaja and attested to the uncommon prudence, rectitude, ability, understanding and courtesy of Hastings. This memorandum was evidently drawn up in Persian, the language of the elegant and the élite. The fourth memorandum was in Hindusthani written in Gujarati character and gave expression to the high esteem in which Hastings was held by the rich bankers of "the New Putty quarters" and the wealthy merchants of Benares. The second and the third testimonials are reproduced below. They bore numerous signatures and

referred in general terms to what Hastings had done to earn their gratitude.

Apart from their historical value these two documents have a special interest for us as they were composed in a language known only to the learned few. We do not propose to discuss here whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language. That it served as a *lingua franca* for the people of India long after it had ceased to be a living language cannot be gainsaid. Hindu princes belonging to different parts of the country and speaking different vernaculars found in Sanskrit a suitable and convenient medium for diplomatic correspondence in the last decades of the seventeenth century and donatory grants and inscriptions still continued to be made in the language which seems to have gained in sanctity by lapse of time. These two memoranda go a long way to prove, if any proof is needed, that Sanskrit still served to furnish a linguistic bond among the Hindus of India.¹ The 178 signatories of one memorandum came from the distant provinces of Maharashtra and Gujarat and were officially described as "Pandits of Maharashtra and Nāgara and other Brahmins at Benares." The 112 subscribers of the other testimonial are inaccurately alluded to as Bengal Pandits. The names leave no doubt that all of them did not come from Bengal, nor was every one of these signatories a Brāhmin by caste and all the Brāhmins who came forward to record their evidence in Hastings's favour could not claim to be Sanskrit scholars. Mannu Vijhat, Rāmnath Vijhat and Ausan Misra are not Bengali names and probably belonged to the adjoining province of Bihar historically associated with the bigger and more important

¹ There are about a dozen Sanskrit letters dating from the late 18th to the early nineteenth century in the custody of the Imperial Record Department at New Delhi. Sanskrit as a medium of correspondence was not, therefore, completely abandoned until recently.

Suba. Kāshīnāth Maithila very likely hailed from the Darbhanga region. Bihari Charan Sil, Sant Singh, Vishwanath Ghosh, Ram Sundar Shahu, Krishnamohan Das and Ram Shankar Basu could not be Brahmins. They were indiscriminately grouped together as Bengali Pandits probably because they had all subscribed to a statement in Sanskrit, a language commonly confined to the priestly caste. While the memorialists from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal used as a common tongue they did not use a common script. The former wrote in Devanagari but the latter preferred the Bengali character with which they were more familiar. It is not unlikely that the Sils, Ghoshes and Basus were quite innocent of a script in which the learned alone revelled. It may be noted here that the original signatures have been lost and we have at present a list of signatories in Arabic letters appended to the Persian translation.

The residents and outsiders, settled at the holy city of *Viśveśwara*, naturally belonged to all stations of life. Some of them were humble pilgrims and unostentatious seekers of learning while a good few must have been men of wealth and influence. We find for instance the name of Jai Narayan Ghosal among the Bengalee memorialists. But rich and poor, learned and unlettered, scrupulously refrained from questions of high politics and referred only to those specific acts of the ex-Governor-General which were particularly calculated to benefit the pilgrims, *e.g.*, the suppression of the undue and illegal exactions of the *Gangaputras* or the officiating priests, the new facilities for the free and unhampered performance of their religious rites, the appointment of Ali Ibrahim Khan as Chief Magistrate of Benares, and last but not least the construction of a *naubat khana* or music gallery near the gateway of the *Viśveśwara* temple. This must have specially appealed to the average Hindu

as a particularly meritorious act. Hastings had the imagination of a real statesman and knew how to win the golden opinion of the man in the street. If he had deprived the holy city of its Hindu ruler he was not long in proving that neither the deity nor his devotees were out of his mind and their needs would always receive his earnest attention. His unchristian homage to a pagan god probably did the greatest credit to this christian ruler.

What proportion of the outsiders settled at Benares subscribed to these memorials is difficult to ascertain at this distance of time. The special sanctity of the holy city had from time immemorial attracted myriads of pilgrims from all parts of India. Benares, moreover, enjoyed the eminence of being the greatest seat of Sanskrit learning and thousands of ambitious students flocked there to seek the distinction which the city of *Viśveśwara* alone could confer. There must have been therefore a large floating population of pilgrims, professors and pupils of whom the 290 persons who made their written deposition must have formed an infinitesimal fraction. According to Prinsep, there were no less than 11,311 Maharashtra, 1,231 Nagara and 3,000 Bengali residents at Benares in 1828-29 or fifty years after the submission of the memorials and it is interesting to note that one thousand *ganguputras* ministered to the spiritual needs of 1,22,365 Hindus at that date.

It may be pertinently enquired whether these testimonies were really free and voluntary. It is to be noted that Ali Ibrahim Khan forwarded these four memorials to Mr. Jonathan Duncan "in order that he might in his kindness forward them to the Council at Calcutta and request in behalf of the inhabitants that the beneficent gentlemen of the Council having caused the addresses to be translated . . . would send both the originals and the

translations to the Presence of the Hon'ble Directors."² Mr. Duncan however was on his guard and refused to have anything to do with these documents as they had "no relation with the Business of the Company." The papers were thereupon sent to Hastings's attorney, Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson approached the Governor-General-in-Council with a request that he may be permitted to receive such written testimonies as the native inhabitants of the Company's territories may be willing to bear to the merits of Mr. Hastings and that the Judges, Collectors and residents under the Presidency may be requested to transmit any such testimony to the Governor-General-in-Council.³ This request was complied with but the Company's servants were plainly warned that "the liberty now accorded is merely to receive and transmit testimonials when offered and you are not to deduce any inference from it that you are authorised to exercise any further interference in the business."⁴ It is therefore clear that the Governor-General-in-Council were not prepared to countenance any undue zeal on the part of their officers in securing any testimony in Hastings's favour. They were simply to act as a post office when any memorial was voluntarily submitted. Mr. Duncan's attitude was one of rigid neutrality if not of rigid indifference.

Ali Ibrahim Khan on the contrary was a friend and protégé of Warren Hastings. It is not unlikely that he might have exerted himself in securing these testimonials from the citizens of Benares. It is evident from his own letter that he did not share Mr. Duncan's indifference in this matter. As the Chief Magistrate of the city he had

² Ali Ibrahim Khan to Thompson, *Public Consultations*, 31 March, 1788, No. 14.

³ Letter dated 2nd March, 1788.

⁴ Circular letter from Mr. E. Hay, *Public Consultations*, 31 March, 1788, No. 16.

exceptional opportunities of bringing some pressure upon the grantees, bankers and residents of humbler status if he was so inclined and the glowing terms in which our memorialists refer to the unique qualities of the head and heart with which the Khan was richly endowed may lead an over-sophisticated reader to suspect that these documents were probably designed as much to flatter the magistrate as to exonerate the ex-Governor-General from unmerited aspersions. Jai Narain Ghoshal also might not have been absolutely uninterested in Hastings's fate though he figures rather low on the list. The memorialists however steered clear of controversial measures and questions of high policy; their testimony is strictly limited to facts within their own knowledge and there is no reason to suggest that it was not given of their free will because Ali Ibrahim Khan took a natural, if indiscreet, interest in the preparation and transmission of these documents.

The Pandits speak of the rare kindness which they received from Hastings during his second visit to Benares. A sincere patron of oriental learning Hastings must have received his learned guests with spontaneous courtesy which made a lasting impression on them and when the memorials were drafted the scholars of the South, West and East readily agreed to pay a special tribute to the charming manners of the Governor-General. It may, therefore, reasonably be concluded that the two documents quoted below truly reflect the genuine feeling of the signatories though the idea of bearing public testimony to Warren Hastings's character and achievements might have emanated from men of rank and wealth.

1. Copy of the Memorandum drawn up by the Maharashtra, Nagara and other Brahmins of Benares (written in Devanāgarī Character).

युग-कृत-वृत्ति १८४४ तुल्ये विक्रमादब्द-वृ-दे गतवति नवयू-

श्याव्यष्टि १७०६ संख्ये शकाख्ये । अविगुहतिथि ६ शुक्ले
 कार्तिके शुक्रवारे कृतमिदमिह पत्रं काशिकाख्यात-लो-
 कैः वयं जना वाराणसी-वासिनः प्रवासिनश्चात्र सं-
 प्राप्ता यायातध्येन ब्रूमः गवर्नर-जनरल-वारन-हिंसि-
 साहेवाख्य-विशु-वर-कृपा-संभार-शिष्टाचार-कलित-कतिप-
 य-कारणैः संतुष्टा दृष्टाश्च वर्त्तामहे इति । तेषु च कारणेषु
 ॥ स निखिल-देशीय-चातुर्वर्त्य-महत्तीर्थ-रूपायाः श्रीवि-
 श्वेश्वर-नगर्या वसति-स्वास्थ्य-निरूपणाय (sic) लंकृतवानिति
 प्रथमम् स-सुखं स-मानं चास्मान्स्वराज्ये स्थापितवानि-
 ति द्वितीयम् यात्रिणश्च गङ्गापुत्र-महोपद्रवमियाह्व-
 तरा अत्रागच्छन्ति (sic) स्म तदुपद्रवानुपशमितवानित्यभूत-यू-
 र्व-स्वकार्य-सोकर्यं विचार्य निरस्त-समस्त-साध्वसाः सकल-ज-
 नपद-यात्रिणः स्मिराः साम्प्रतं सुखं समायान्तीति तृतीयं
 वाराणस्यास्तरक्षाय न्याय-निर्णाय च मुक्त-न्यायवि-
 ज्ञानं नवाव अली इब्राहीम खानं शास्तारं प्रतिष्ठापितवा-
 न् चातुर्वर्त्य-विवाद-विवेचनाय वरीयासो द्विज-विद्वांसस्त-
 दितरतर्निर्णाय च यवनास्ते तिष्ठेयुरिति देशस्थ-समस्त-
 जनानुरंजन-सुखाकरण-दृढतर-नियोगगर्भमाज्ञापत्रं
 तस्मायर्पितवान् स च शास्ता सर्वेषामधिकारिणामुत्को-
 च-दण्डाद्युपादान-प्रतिषेधेन राज-वलवंड (sic) सिंह-चेतसिंह-
 राज्यादधिकतरं प्रजाः सुखयतीति चतुर्थं पुनश्चात्र स-
 मागतः पीनयशा गवर्नर-मिस्तर-हिष्टीनोत्रत्य-शिष्टजन-
 समागम-समये साधु-मधुर-संलापापार-कृपासाराचाराचर-
 शौर्यथायथ-सर्व-सम्मान-विधान-प्रतिपालन-परैर्वहिरन्तः-
 करणैः सर्व-जन-मनस्तोष्यतिस्मेति पंचमम् अस्म-
 जनामन्दानन्द-सम्पादनाय सर्व-तीर्थ-शिरोमणि-श्रीमद्वि-
 श्वेश्वर-द्वारि स्ववसु-व्ययेन विशाल-वादित्रायतनं का-
 रितवानिति षष्ठम् प्रजापालन-परिपाठ्य-परित्यागे
 न सर्वथा लोभदृष्ट्यसृष्ट्या कदापि कस्यचिदपि हानिं ने-
 हितवानिति सप्तमम् इत्थं मिस्तर-हिंसि जलाद-
 र्जंग-सुनीति-प्रीति-रीतय ऋतोदिताः पादशाह-कंपनी-
 यशसि शारदेन्दुबल्लिलालाया व्यापयन्तो हिंदोस्ताने-
 ति-प्रतीत-वितत-नीवृत्स, जाग्रतीति वयं समे सुखिता अ-
 कम्पानुकम्पानिधि-पादशाह-कम्पनी-प्राज्य-सौराज्य-सा-
 प्राज्य-समृद्धिभधिकतरमाशास्महे इति शिवम् ॥ ॥

Names of the Signatories (in Persian).

Nilkanth Bhutt; Bireswar Sish; Atma Ram Kay;
 Balam Bhut Koley; Bhairav Dixit; Megh Nath Deo;
 Shambhu Deo; Jairam Bhutt; Jagannath Bhutt Shukul;
 Baijnath Bhutt; Jagannath Misr; Ganga Ram Karikal;
 Ramchandra Bhutta Kootkar (Ketkar?); Atma Ram
 Puranik; Bhutt Ganga Ram; Somnath Bhutt Neoyatkar;
 Bhudeo Misr; Bhairav Dixit; Balam Bhutt Bharadwaj;
 Guneshwar Bhutt; Baba Dixit; Balkrishen Dixit Mahaji;
 Dadam Bhutt; Kishen Bhutt Arari; Sukha Ram Bhutt;
 Jogeshwar Bhutt; Harikishen Dixit; Babu Dixit Ayachuk;
 Ramkishen Tephathi; Udaya Shankar Pandit; Anna
 Shastri; Shadasheo Bhutt; Balmakund Bhutt Kholi;
 Balkishen Dixit; Sita Ram Bhatt Puranik; Pandit
 Nana Panhik; Balkishen Karikal; Manni Ram
 Bhutt Sadaharti; Baijnath Bhutt Nagraj; Prem Shankar;
 Anand Ram Bhutt Lachmi Dhar; Sambhuji Dixit; Udaya-
 kishen Tewari; Lachmidhar Dixit; Lachman Vyas;
 Ballabh Ji; Sheovallabh Ji Gopal Ji; Jaikishen Pathak;
 Anand Ram Anant Ram; Meanath Panda; Sadakishen
 Janey; Panda Nand Ram; Munkund Ram Shukul; Kalyan-
 ji Dixit; Moolnath Rooderji; Dubey Kewal Kishen; Sheo
 Paran Jeewan; Tewari Bhishen Deo; Tewari Kanaya
 Deo; Bawan Kishen; Dubey Ganpat Ji; Dubey Bishnoo
 Ram; Suraj Kishen; Tewari Kishen Ballabh; Pura
 Ganga Ram; Pura Bishnu Ram; Pandia Kalyanji;
 Tiwari Motilal; Dubey Kanaya Ji; Anand Ram Shukul;
 Ram Dutt; Kewal Kishen Dixit; Dina Nath; Ram
 Kishen Bhut Kholey; Anant Ram Bhutt; Maladhar
 Dharam Adhikari; Balmakund Arori; Hari Bhutt
 Dhobey; Vasudeo Bhutt Gurjar; Sheoram Bhutt Jhosi;
 Jagannath Dharamdhikari; Anant Ram Bhutt; Vinayak
 Bhutt Moni; Kirpa Krishn Jakak; Shew Lal Pathak;
 Lachman Bhutt; Babroopajh (sic) Shastri; Bhawani
 Shankar Thakur; Jogeshwar Shastri; Megha Pat Joshi;

Ganesh Bhutt Sharangpani; Sheobhadra Pathak; Suraj-ram Jani; Arat Ram Vallabh Ram; Gobind Ram Sheo Dutt; Beni Ram Bora; Singhji Mureshwar; Mohan Lal Murlidhar; Dubey Chiranjiwa Shashankar (Shiva Shankar?); Dewa Karan Bakht Ram; Gori Shankar Varachand; Nanak Parmeshwar; Kamla Karan Ajleshwar (*sic*); Dubey Banath (*sic*) Ram; Rameshwar Bakran; Kashi Ram Rateshwar; Rati Ram Sanmukhram; Vidyadhar Udaykaran; Dubey Izzut Ram Lajja Ram; Daya Dhar Dina Nath; Dayanath Bishnu; Gotha Sathvāk Krishna Kayal; Varadhar Mangleshwar; Rewa Das; Jeevaneshwar; Amba Shankar Bijoy Shankar; Liladhar Rup Ram; Kāshi Ram Sheo Shankar; Jani Rewa Dutt Behari Lal; Suraj Ram Munna Ram; Nana Mokha; Govind Ram Nir Baneshwar; Ishwarji Lukhooji; Jain Anand Ram Sarth Ram; Jagat Ram Izzat Ram; Mukeshwar; Rashik Lal Brijlal; Dayanand Karnakaran; Ram Dutt Sawakeshwar (Sevakeshwar); Sammookh Ram Uttam Ram; Sarga Shankar Daya Ram; Bajji Ram Charan Ram; Balmokund Shankar; Chandreshwar; Hirakaran Moti Karan; Bishunnath Chagopi Nath (Visvanath Jhā?); Jiteshwar Lachmi Ishwar; Prem Shankar; Mahant Gopal Kishen; Amba Ram Vyas; Krishnaji Joshi; Ram Chandra Vyas; Mawari Mal Sheshwar (Shiveshwar); Dubey Suraja Ji; Tewari Ratan Ji; Tewari Amba Ram; Gaupat Joshi; Jadupat Joshi; Pandia Mahadeo; Bidya Dhar Vaid; Raja Ram Kanwal Ram; Dev Dutt Bhutti; Vidya Nund Joshi; Bibareshwar; Battha Ram Bhutt; Ojha Ram Kishen; Tiwari Baijnath; Dubey Chaturbhuj; Dubey Deo Ram; Ojha Radha Kishen; Amba Shankar Jali; Ananda Ram Vyas; Munna Ram; Raghunath Gopal; Dixit Gopalji; Dixit Hari Kishen; Suraj Lal Shuknl; Jiwan Ram Dube; Krishan Deo Dixit; Gopal Deo; Chitreshwar Bhat; Parbhu Deo Vyas; Sheo Shankar Dixit; Narain Deo; Kirpa Shankar Dixit; Gokul Nath Dixit.

2. Copy of the Memorandum drawn up by Bengali Brahmins and other Hindus, inhabitants of Benares (written in Bengali Character).

भीमत्सु राज-राजेषु इंद्रेय-भूमिन्त्रेषु (sic) भीमत्-कोष्पा-
नौच भीवारायस्यां कृत-वसतीनां नानादेशीया यात्रि-
कानाञ्च निवेदनानि विशेषः भीयुत-गवर्नर-जर्जे (sic)-
ल-हेस्तिस-नरेन्द्रस्य प्रणयानुरागा-(sic)-समनुरक्षिता एव नि-
त्वं तिष्ठामः । १ । अपरोपि अस्मिन् देशे यदा तेन नरेन्द्रे-
ण स्थितं तदा आत्माकं मङ्गलार्थं मर्यादा-स्थापनार्थञ्च व-
हुधा प्रयतितं ॥ २ ॥ अपरोपि तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य प्रसादाक्षि-
रद्वेगमत्रवसतामस्माकमतीवसुखं बुष्टानां दमनादच (sic) भु-
त्वा नानादिभ्यो लोकाः समागत्यात्र वसतिञ्चक्रुः ॥ ३ ॥
अन्योपि अत्रवसतां सतां प्रतिपालनार्थमसतां निग्रहार्थ-
ञ्च भीमन्तं नानाशास्त्रार्थ-कोविदं धर्मभीरु-निलोभं वेद-प-
थानुसारिणां धर्म-शास्त्रानुसारेण यवनानां तदीय शास्त्रानु-
सारेण च व्यवस्थापकं नियोजयितुं (sic) पर्यालोच्य भीमान हेस्ति-
न-संज्ञो नरेन्द्रस्तादृशं भीमजवाव अलीविराहिम खान्-नामकं-
गुन-विन्धुं नियोजयामास तेन पूर्व-राजापेक्षया इदानीमस्मा-
कं सम्यक्-प्रतिपालनं जायते ॥ ४ ॥ अपरोपि यदात्र-नरे-
न्द्रेणागतं तदा तं ब्रष्टुं ये ये गताः ते ते यथायोग्यमाहताः ॥ ५ ॥
अन्योपि यथायोग्य-भीभी ~ प्रीत्या नित्य-विजयार्थं भीभी ~ तोरण-
समीपे प्रभूत-मुद्रा-व्ययेन सम्यङ्निर्मिते पाषाण-मये प्रासादे
बादित्रं नेत्यिकं नरेन्द्रः कारयामास ॥ ६ ॥ तेन नरेन्द्रेण
यावदत्र स्थितं तावदेव पुत्रवद्वयं सर्वथा प्रतिपालिता अस्मा (sic)
अस्माकं कस्मिन्नपि विषये तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य न्युनता नासीत् ॥ ७ ॥
तेन वयं सर्वदा सुखिनस्तिष्ठामः । एतेन भीमतां राजराजा-
नां इन्द्रेय-भूमिन्द्राणां (sic) दीननायकशरणानां भीमतः को-
भ्यानेभ्यश्च महती कीर्त्तिर्जाता वर्त्तते वयमपि नित्यं शुभाशि-
षः कुर्मः । श्रीवासिनां निवेदनमिति ॥ ॥

Names of the Signatories (in Persian).

Kriparam Tarka-Siddhānta; Gvindaram Nyāya-
chārya; Ramarama Siddhanta; Kashiram Chatterji; Pran
Krishna Sharma; Shyam Vidyavagish; Krishnamangal
Sharma; Krishna Chandra Sarvabhauma; Yugal Kishor

Vandopadhyaya; Krishna Chandra Mukherji; Ramlochan Mukherji; Dulal Nyayalankar; Balaram Vachaspati; Sadananda Tarka Vagish; Sivnath Tarkabhushan; Ananda Chandra Bhattacharya; Ramcharan Vidya-vagish; Kashinath Maithil; Gangaram Vyas; Ram Prasad Bandyopadhyaya; Ramsundar Ray; Vagaleshvar Pahan (Pradhan?); Kaliprasad Bhattacharya; Gangadhar Vidya-vagish; Krishnananda Vidyalankar; Ramcharan Chakra-varti; Haridev Tarkabhushan; Ramchandra Vidyalankar; Ramram Bakshi; Balaram Bhattacharya; Rudraram Sarkar; Bhavanicharan Sarkar; Ramshankar Vandyopadhyaya; Sivaprasad Vachaspati; Kaliprasad Siddhanta; Sivnarayan Vandyopadhyay; Darpanarayan Bhattacharya; Gokul Krishna Vidyalankar; Ramkanta Vidyalankar; Ramnath Sharma; Chandicharan Sharma; Lakshman Vidyavagish; Ramkanta Vidyalankar; Gangaram Pahan (Pradhan?); Lakshminarayan Sharma; Krishnananda Sarvabhauma; Khelaram Sharma; Tilak Chandra Gangopadhyay; Ramram Sharma; Ramji (van?) Gangopadhyay; Kaliprasad Sharma; Jaganmohan Mukhopadhyay; Shobhanath Sharma; Ramdas Sharma; Krishnadas Sarvabhauma; Jaykrishna Sharma; Jayashankar Sharma; Premananda Gangopadhyay; Janananda Sharma; Shambhunanath Vandyopadhyay; Jayanarayan Ghoshal; Bhavanishankar Ghoshal; Gangahari Vandyopadhyay; Ramsantosh Chatterji; Vishvanath Chatterji; Ramram Siddhanta; Jagannath Ray; Manikchandra Sharma; Gangadhar Vidyavagish; Rammohan Bhattacharya; Ramchandra Nyayalankar; Jaydev Sharma; Jagannath Sharma; Kashinath Sharma; Devnarayan Sharma; Gopalshankar Pahan (Pradhan?); Lakshminarayan Nyayavagish; Krishnadev Chatterji; Yugal-mohan Sharma; Vishvanath Ghosh; Raghunat Palat (Palit?); Kaliprasad Sarkar; Viharicharan Sil; Santa Singh; Ramnarayan Sil; Ramsundar Sayin; Rammohan

Palat (Palit?); Prankrishna Palat (Palit?); Krishnamohan Das; Ramshankar Bose; Ramhari Das; Ramnidhi Das; Haricharan Malik; Vrajakishor Ghosh; Kaliprasad Sharma; Kalishankar Sharma; Kaliprasad Sharma; Kevalram Sharma; Kevalram Bhattacharya; Prannath Thakur; Ramchandra Banerji; Nilmani Thakur; Chaitanyacharan Thakur; Harikrishna Ved; Vishnushankar Vijhat; Mannu Vijhat; Ramnath Vijhat; Visvanath Mitra; Vaidyanath Narayan Misra; Ausan Misra; Kalidas Siddhanta.

English Translation of the First Memorandum

This memorandum is drawn up on (this day, being) Friday, the Sixth *tithi*⁵ (lit. *tithi* presided over by Kārttikeya) from the new moon in (the month of) Kārttika, in the 1844th⁶ year of Vikrama (equivalent to) the Śaka year 1709. We, the inhabitants as well as outsiders settled at Benares (literally, people coming from elsewhere) do (hereby) declare with truth and sincerity that we feel happy and satisfied on account of several (good) things originating from the generous and enlightened policy (administration) of the illustrious noble Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General. Among these things the first (to be mentioned) is the pain he took to populate as well as to promote the well-being of the City of *Viśveśvara*,⁷ the most holy place for all the four castes belonging to the entire country.

⁵ 'Adhi-*Guhatithi*.'—*Tithi* presided over by Guha (Kārttikeya).

⁶ 'Yugakṛta.'—Twice four or four followed by four. *Dhṛti* = 18 according to *Vācaspatyābhidhānam*. The year is therefore 1844. The date corresponds to 16th November, 1787.

⁷ Hastings framed a number of regulations for the improvement of the administration, trade and commerce of Benares and he wrote in a letter to Wheeler "I have the happiness to find all men satisfied and happy in the excellent administration of Benares." Forrest, *Selections from State Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 816-17, 1095, 1117 and 1119.

Secondly, he has settled us under his jurisdiction with both honour and happiness.

Thirdly, frightened by the high-handedness of the *Gaṅgāputras*^{*} few pilgrims previously use to visit this city. But now that those misdeeds have been suppressed and all other obstructions removed pilgrims are pouring in the city in large numbers from all provinces in view of the unprecedented facilities afforded for their religious rites.⁹

Fourthly. He appointed as Magistrate Nawab 'Ali Ibrahim Khan,¹⁰ efficient, upright and well-versed in law, for the maintenance of law and order and administration of justice in the City of Benares. In the *proclamation*¹¹ of his appointment—an appointment justified by the resulting happiness and comfort that have accrued to the whole population of the locality, it was ordained that Brahmin Scholars should be appointed for deciding the suits preferred by the four castes and Muslim divines for (deciding) those preferred by others.¹² The said Magis-

* *Gaṅgāputra*.—According to V. S. Apte, "a Brāhmaṇa who conducts pilgrims to the Ganges." From the English translation of the Persian Letters Received (1788, Vol. 28, p. 57) it appears that the term used to be applied to the officiating priests in general. In Bengal the *Doms* in charge of the cremation grounds on the banks of the Ganges are also styled as *Gaṅgāputras*.

⁹ In his letter to Wheeler, already referred to, Hastings opined that the pilgrims should be encouraged in every way. In 1781 he abolished the pilgrim-tax and framed a few regulations to protect them "against every means of oppression." Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 1117. Also see *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 535 and 808.

¹⁰ Ali Ibrahim Khan served under Alivardi Khan and Mir Qasim with distinction. He was appointed Chief Magistrate of Benares in 1781 and held that office till his death in 1793. Hastings thought very highly of his character and ability and alluded to the Chief Magistrate's "Character for moderation, disinterestedness and good sense" in a note to the Council. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 816.

¹¹ See Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 316 and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, 292.

trate having efficiently checked the exactions of bribes and (undue) fines by his subordinate officers has conferred on the people more happiness than enjoyed by them even under the rule of Rājā Balavanta Simha and Cheta Simha.¹³

Fifthly. On the occasion of an assemblage of the enlightened people of the locality which took place during the 2nd visit¹⁴ of the illustrious governor Mr. Hastings, he charmed everybody by his elegant and delightful conversation, by his conduct characterised by unfathomable charity and by his deeds and thoughts which were solely devoted to rewarding and patronising the people according to their merits.

Sixthly. To our great delight, he caused a *music gallery* to be built at his own expense at the gateway of the illustrious *Viśveśvara* temple, the crest-jewel of all the holy places.

Seventhly. He never deviated from the principles essential to good government nor cast a look of greed (towards anybody) nor did he ever wish any ill to anybody.

Thus, do we truthfully testify to the wise and charitable policy followed by Mr. Hastings, Jaladat Jang

¹² The relevant part of the proclamation is as follows: "In all cases which shall depend on the particular laws and institutions of the parties, the said President and Judges shall . . . adjudge the right as established by those facts according to the respective laws and institutions of the parties, whether they be Mussalmen or Hindus and for this purpose they shall be assisted by two Maulvis versed in the Sheriat . . . and two Pundits versed in the Pootee of justice." Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 817; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p. 292.

¹³ Balavant Singh, Raja of Benares, 1739 to 1770, was succeeded by his son Chet Singh who was deposed by Hastings in 1781.

¹⁴ Hastings visited Benares on the 13th March, 1784, on his way to Lucknow. During the return journey he spent about a month (13th September to 22nd October) at the holy city. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 985, 992, 998 and 1421.

(brave in war). The fame of the (English) King and the Company, pervading as it does all the quarters like autumn moonlight, is ever alive through the length and breadth of (their) far-flung and firmly established empire. And we all who are living in comfort, offer our prayers for the prosperity of the extensive and well-administered empire of the King and the Company, who are a veritable repository of never-failing kindness.

English Translation of the Second Memorandum.

This is the submission of people settled in Benares as well as of pilgrims from various provinces to the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England and the prosperous Company. We are living here richly blessed by the favour and patronage of the illustrious Governor-General and chief among men, Hastings (1). Secondly, as long as the said ruler resided in this country, he endeavoured in many ways for the promotion of our well-being and for the maintenance of our honour (2). Again, people came from all quarters and settled here when they learnt of the great happiness of us, who reside here in security, thanks to that ruler's (Mr. Hastings's) favour and of the suppression of the evil-doers (3). Further, having considered the propriety of appointing a magistrate who is intelligent, well-versed in all the sciences, god-fearing, devoid of greed and competent to adjust the cause between the followers of the Vedic religion according to the Dharma-Śāstras and between the Muslims in conformity with their laws, for the protection of the honest and the chastisement of the dishonest, the illustrious ruler, who is known by the name of Hastings, gave the appointment to the illustrious Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, who fulfilled all these requirements and was a veritable ocean of virtues, in consequence whereof, we are being governed much better than under the former Raja (4). Further,

when the said ruler came to this City, all who went to see him were received with respect according to their ranks. (5). Further, in order to obtain eternal prosperity in a fitting manner through the grace of the Supreme Lord, the said ruler provided for daily (play of) music in an elegantly fashioned stone edifice built for the purpose at considerable expense near the gate of the Lord's temple (6). So long as he resided in this country he cherished us in every way like his children. In no respect did he cause us any loss. We are on that account ever living in happiness. By these (deeds) the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England, the protector and sole refuge of the poor as well as the Company have gained great reputation. We are also daily offering our blessings. This is the submission of the inhabitants of the holy city.

BHĀSKARA'S VIEW OF ERROR

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA.

Like other old exponents of Vedānta, Bhāskara also commented upon the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, the *Upaniṣads*¹ and the *Bhagavadgītā*.² Of them, it is only the *Bhāṣya* on the first that is at present available in a rather imperfect edition.³ Since throughout this work, he finds fault with Śaṅkara for his interpretation of the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, and since he himself is, in turn, criticised by Vācaspati, it is not difficult to fix his date fairly definitely. If we take for granted the dates now generally assigned to Śaṅkara (800 A.D.) and Vācaspati (850 A.D.), we may conclude that Bhāskara should have flourished in the early part of the 9th century A.D. The type of Vedānta taught by him is a very old one. It is described as *Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda*, and references to it are found in the *Vedānta-Sūtra* itself.⁴ It maintains that the relation between *Brahman* and the *Jīva* or the physical universe is one of identity in difference, and is therefore also designated as the *Bhedābheda-vāda*. It was once largely prevalent in India; and may, broadly speaking, be regarded as Hegelian in its spirit. Śaṅkara criticised it often and severely; and it was chiefly owing to his criticism that it completely lost the hold which it seems,

¹ For example, Bhāskara alludes to his com. on *Chandogya Upaniṣad* on pp. 155 and 240 of his *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-Sūtra* (hereafter referred to as BB.).

² See *Indian Historical Quarterly* for 1933, pp. 663—77 for an article on this commentary by Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sharma. Only fragments of it seem to be available now.

³ Issued from the Chowkhamba Press, Benares 1915.

⁴ Cf. I. iv. 20-21.

till then, to have had on the Indian mind. Efforts were made later to resuscitate it by thinkers like Bhāskara and Yādava-Prakāśa; but they did not succeed. There are, at least, two forms of this type of Vedānta, with differences in matters of detail; but, as they are not familiarly known,⁵ it is desirable to state here the salient features of the particular variety of it taught by Bhāskara, before we can deal with his explanation of error.

Bhāskara is a monist like Śaṅkara, and holds that *Brahman* is the sole reality; but his conception of it is vastly different. He believes that *Brahman* is endowed with infinite potency, which he classifies under the two heads of *bhogyā-śakti* and *bhoktr-śakti*.⁶ The former manifests itself as the objective world; and, as a consequence of such manifestation, the other aspect of *Brahman* becomes split up into an indefinite number of parts.

These self-differentiated parts or *aṁśas*,⁷ as they are termed, are the *jīvas*. The physical world is thus an actual transformation or *pariṇāma* of *Brahman*, and not merely its appearance as in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. The *jīva*, on the other hand, is a determination of *Brahman* formed by its own evolutes on the physical side, such as the internal organ (*antaḥ-karaṇa*) and the physical body. It is the multiplicity of these adjuncts (*upādhi*) that accounts for the multiplicity of the *jīvas*. What should be particularly noted here is that the *jīva* is not a *pariṇāma* of *Brahman*,⁸ as it is according to some other teachers of the *Bhedābheda* school like Bhartṛprapañca and Yādava, but an *aupādhika* or

⁵ An excellent summary of Bhāskara's doctrine is found in Prof. P. N. Srinivasacharya's book, *The Philosophy of Bhedābheda* (Srinivasa Varadachari and Co., Madras).

⁶ BB., pp. 85 and 105.

⁷ BB., pp. 112 and 140-41.

⁸ BB., p. 134.

conditioned state of it. It is only the result of *Brahman* being delimited by certain adjuncts that are its own transformations. The adjuncts being real, the limitation characterising the *jīva*s also is real; and in this lies the chief distinction between the view of Bhāskara and that of Śaṅkara. In its transmigrating state, the *jīva* forgets that it is intrinsically the unconditioned *Brahman* itself, and imagines that its limited character is natural (*srābhārika*) to it. This is the root-cause of *saṁsāra*; and escape from it is possible only when it realises the true nature of those adjuncts and of itself. Except for the important distinction in the conception of *Brahman*, already mentioned, Bhāskara's view of *mokṣa* is the same as that of Śaṅkara. In both the views, the *jīva* loses its individuality and gets merged in *Brahman*.⁹ This is Bhāskara's idea of the triple subject-matter of philosophy, *viz.*, God, soul and matter.

Ignorance of its own true character then is the source of the *jīva*'s bondage in this doctrine, as in so many others. This ignorance has two aspects.¹⁰ There is a negative one (*agrāhaṇa*) on account of which the *jīva* loses sight of its infinite nature; and there is a positive side (*viparīta-grāhaṇa*) also, owing to which it comes to look upon itself as finite. The latter gives rise to a feeling of separateness from others; and, as a necessary consequence of it, follow all forms of evil like narrow love and hate. Here the error consists not in the *jīva*'s sense of relationship with adjuncts like the body and the internal organ; for that relationship is conceived as actual, but in regarding it as essential (*srābhārika*) while it is only adventitious (*anpādhika*). Thus the *jīva* is under a delusion only in so far as it takes what is provisional for

⁹ BB., p. 231.

¹⁰ BB., p. 19.

what is permanent. The dispelling of this error is possible, according to Bhāskara, through scriptural testimony. But, though wrong knowledge is removable in this life, actual release from the limiting conditions does not ensue until death, for an adventitious feature, as is well known, does not disappear until the element adventing itself is removed. A person suffering from fever may know that sugar is sweet, but it continues to taste bitter as long as he has a bilious tongue. In the present case the adjuncts, which are instrumental in giving rise to the notion of limitation, persist till death when, in the case of a knower, they once for all cease to be.¹¹

In the above error, the fact that two things, *viz.*, the self and the adjunct, are involved is well realised; and yet there is error. It consists in misconceiving the nature of the relation between them. There is another and a more radical form of error, in which this fact is wholly overlooked; and the two things are, as a consequence, mistaken for one as a person looking at two trees in the dusk may mistake them for one. The self and the not-self thus come to be identified as shown by convictions like 'I am *Deradatta*' (understood in the Cārvāka sense).¹² Here what is strictly denoted by the term '*Deradatta*' is the physical organism; and the conviction implies the complete ignoring of spirit which is the true significance of the 'I'. That is, the condition (*upādhi*) is here mistaken for the conditioned (*upahīta*); but both, we must remember, are in this doctrine equally real. The dispelling of the error consists in realising, on the strength of scriptural teaching, this fact, *viz.*, that

¹¹ It is worth noting, in this connection, that Bhāskara does not accept the possibility of *jīvanmukti* or freedom while one is still alive. See BB., p. 220.

¹² Bhāskara refers to this as the primal error in several places in his commentary on the *Udāna-Sūtra*. Cf., p. 21 and 219.

there are two factors and not merely one. Being real, the physical body will of course continue to be; but it will no longer be identified with the self.

So far, we have dealt with metaphysical error or the error which is the source of *saṃsāra*, as explained by Bhāskara. It is *anyathā-khyāti*;¹³ and it is so described because it explains error as presenting its object in a manner which is different from what it actually is. This error, in its double form, will help us to understand his view of common error, which also is twofold. Instances of such error are cited by him as illustrations, but there is no direct treatment of the topic in his *Bhāṣya*. To get at his view, we have consequently to piece together the information available in it, and in a few of the works belonging to the other schools of Indian thought:

(1) Let us take as an example of the first variety of common error a white crystal which looks red, because a red flower is placed by its side. Here, according to Bhāskara, the redness of the crystal is real so long as it characterises it,¹⁴ and not merely apparent as some other thinkers hold. But if any person, through ignorance, took that feature to be natural to the crystal, he would be in the wrong for it is purely adventitious, being caused by the presence of an *upādhi*, viz., the red flower. There may, of course, be other contributory causes also, such as, a defect in one or more of the aids to proper visual perception (*karana-dosa*); but it is the presence of the flower that gives the error its distinguishing character. It is accordingly an example of what is known as *sopādhika-bhrama*. The knowledge that the crystal is actually white (*bādhaka-pratyaya*) obtained, for instance, by advancing

¹³ Cf. *Iśā-siddhi*, i. 42 where, according to the commentator, the view of error considered is Bhāskara's. See also *Prakāṣārthavivaraṇa*, p. 660.

¹⁴ BB., pp. 159 and 210.

towards it, dispels the error. But, as in the parallel case under metaphysical error, the actual disappearance of the red colour depends on the removal of the flower itself. Till then, though the truth may be known, the appearance of redness in the flower persists; but it no longer misleads the person in question. The only difference is that the correcting knowledge can here be gained through one or other of the common *pramāṇas*, and does not require the aid of revelation. The removal of the *upādhi* again is possible in this case, here and now, for it is not permanent¹⁵ as in the other.

(2) As an example of the second variety of common error, we shall select the mistaking of a piece of shell for silver. But before we can explain it, it is necessary to refer to a fundamental principle of Bhāskara's epistemology, *viz.*, that the non-existent, say, a unicorn or a square-circle can never make itself known. Since he recognises no being intermediate between *sat* and *asat*, as Śaṅkara's *Advaita* does, he views whatever is experienced as necessarily real.¹⁶ Its being may be only provisional or temporal; but that does not conflict with its reality as conceived here. That is to say, *bādhā* or contradiction does not signify the falsity of a thing, as it does in many other doctrines. In fact, Bhāskara contends that the idea of *bādhā* is intelligible only in the case of the real which can be known, and not in that of the unreal which cannot be known.¹⁷ We would say that there is no need to deny the unreal. In the above example, the silver should be real on this principle, for it is distinctly ap-

¹⁵ The physical body is not strictly a permanent adjunct of the *jīva*, for it lasts only during this life. Put, according to the doctrine of *karma*, it is replaced by another then, so that the body as such may be regarded to be so. The *antaḥkaraṇa*, on the other hand, endures until the *jīva* is liberated.

¹⁶ BB., pp. 67 and 95.

¹⁷ Cf. *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, i. 42.

prehended. But it may be asked how it comes to be there. Bhāskara holds that the silver springs up, for the time being, where the piece of shell is. It may be difficult to conceive how it can do so, but that such was his view is not only implied by what he says in the *Bhāṣya*;¹⁸ it is also explicitly stated in some works of the other schools which refer to this point. Thus the *Deūta* commentator Jaya-Tīrtha says: *Tatraira tātkaḷikam-utpannam (rajaṭam) saditi Bhāskararah.*¹⁹ Now this error corresponds to that of 'I am *Deradutta*,' considered under metaphysical error; and its explanation is similar. One thing is mistaken for another, and the mistake disappears when it is known, say, that it is too light to be silver. An important distinction from the corresponding form of metaphysical error is that right knowledge not only removes error but also its object, *viz.*, silver. But it should not be forgotten that, according to the principle above enunciated, this knowledge points only its impermanence and not to its falsity.

It must be confessed that there is some indefiniteness in our account of this variety of common error. It is due to the fact, already mentioned, that there is no separate treatment of it in the only work of Bhāskara now available. We referred above to the difficulty in understanding how silver can come into being, albeit for a time only, where the shell is. Another point requiring elucidation is why, if the silver is real as it is claimed to be, it is perceived only by the victim of the error and not by others. The only explanation conceivable is that Bhāskara regarded it as what is called a 'private' object and not a 'public' one, some of the causes giving rise to it

¹⁸ P. 93.

¹⁹ *Pramāṇa-paddhati*, p. 64 (Edn. with eight commentaries). See also *Laghu-candrikā* on the *Advaita-siddhi*, pp. 32-3 (Nirn. Sag. Edn.).

(say, weakness of sight) being special to the person in question. A thing's being 'private,' it may be added, does not take away from its reality. Our pains and pleasures are personal to each one of us, but they are not the less real on that account. This explanation gets support from what he says of dream-objects, *viz.*, that they are the creations of the dreaming *jīva* and not of God.²⁰ There is, however, no direct evidence pointing to its correctness.

But whatever may be the solution of such difficulties one thing is clear, *viz.*, the persistence with which Bhāskara tries to uphold the realist position. He does not, indeed, go so far as Prabhākara does and deny error altogether. 'He admits it; but he still maintains that it invariably points to a *real* object, though that object may be false when viewed from a particular standpoint. To confine our attention to the examples of common error given above: The 'redness' of the crystal is real, and it is false only when taken as natural and not as adventitious to it. Similarly, in the case of the 'silver' also. It is quite real; but it is there for the time being, and would be false only if viewed as what was originally given.

²⁰ BB., p. 161. If this be Bhāskara's view, he would not be alone in holding it. Though there are differences in minor points, Rāmānuja also held that dream-objects and the objects of certain other forms of error are private. See *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress* (1925), pp. 79-80.

THE CAMPŪ

BY DR. S. K. DE.

Though the term *Campū* is of obscure origin, it is already used by *Daṇḍin* in his *Kāṛyādarśa* (i. 31) to denote a species of composition in mixed verse and prose (*gadya-padyamayī*). Nothing, however, is said by *Daṇḍin*, or by any other rhetorician, about the relative proportion of verse and prose; but since the Prose *Kāṛya* (*Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā*), which makes prose its exclusive medium, also makes limited use of verse, it has been presumed that the mingling of prose and verse in the *Campū* should not occur disproportionately. In actual practice, the question, in the absence of authoritative prescription, seems never to have worried the authors, who employ prose and verse indifferently for the same purpose. The verse is not always specially reserved, as one would expect, for an important idea, a poetic description, an impressive speech, a pointed moral, or a sentimental outburst, but we find that even for ordinary narrative and description verse is as much pressed into service as prose. In this respect, the *Campū* scarcely follows a fixed principle; and its formlessness, or rather disregard of a strict form, shows that the *Campū* developed quite naturally, but haphazardly, out of the Prose *Kāṛya* itself,¹ the impetus being supplied by the obvious desire of diversifying the prose form freely by verse as an additional ornament under the stress or the lure of the metrical *Kāvya*. In the *Campū*, therefore, the verse becomes as important a medium as the prose, with the

¹ The line of demarcation between a *Kathā* and *Campū* is so thin that Soddhala's *Udayasundarī-Kathā* is sometimes regarded as a *Campū*. The presence of short prose does not distinguish a *Campū* from an ordinary *Kāṛya*; witness, for instance, the *Śrādhā-Sudhākara* of Nārāyaṇa mentioned below.

result that we find a tendency, similar to that of the decadent drama, of verse gradually ousting prose from its legitimate employment. Although *Duṣḍin* is aware of this type of composition, we possess no specimen of the *Campū* earlier than the 10th century A.D. Its late appearance, as well as its obvious relation to the Prose *Kāvya*, precludes all necessity of connecting it genetically with the primitive mode of verse and prose narrative found in the Pali Jātaka or in the Fable literature, in which the verse is chiefly of a moralising or recapitulatory character, or in the inscriptional records, where the verse is evidently ornamental, or in the purely hypothetical Vedic *Ākhyāna*, which is alleged to have contained slender prose as the mere connecting link of more important verse.

The *Campū*, thus, shares the features of both Sanskrit prose and poetry, but the mosaic is hardly of an attractive pattern. Excepting rarely outstanding treatment here and there, the large number of *Campūs* that exist scarcely shows any special characteristic in matter and manner which is not already familiar to us, in their best and worst forms, from the regularly composed metrical and prose *Kāvya*. The subject is generally drawn from legendary sources, although in some later *Campūs*, as we shall see presently, miscellaneous subjects find a place. The *Campū* has neither the sinewy strength and efficiency of real prose, nor the weight and power of real poetry; the prose seeking to copy *ex abundanti* the brocaded stateliness of the prose *Kathā* and the verse reproducing the conventional ornateness of the metrical *Kāvya*. The form, no doubt, affords scope for versatility, but the *Campū*-writer, as a rule, has no original voice of his own. The history of the *Campū*, therefore, is of no great literary importance, but it is a peculiar literary type; and it would be interesting to notice here some of the better known works which are in print.

The earliest known *Campū* appears to be the *Nalacampū* or *Damayantī-kathū*² of Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa, whose date is inferred from the fact that he also composed the Nausari inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III in 915 A.D.³ The work pretends to narrate the old epic story of *Nala* and *Damayantī*, but the accessories and stylistic affectations of laboured composition entirely overgrow the little incident that there is in it, and only a small part of the story is told in its seven *Ācchāśas*. The poet himself describes his work as abounding in puns and difficult constructions, for he believes in the display of verbal complexities after the manner of Bāṇa and Subandhu, and deliberately, but wearisomely, imitates their interminably descriptive, ingeniously recondite and massively ornamented style. He has a decided talent in this direction, as well as skill in metrical composition, and elegant verses from his *Campū* are culled by the Anthologists,⁴ but beyond this ungrudgingly made admission, it is scarcely possible to go further in the way of praise.

To the same century and same category of artificial writing belongs the *Yaśastilaka-campū*⁵ of the *Digambara* Jaina Somadeva Sūri, an extensive work in eight *Āśrāśas*, composed in 959 A.D. in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king

² Ed. Durgaprasad and Sivadatta, with the comm. of Caṇḍa-Pāla (c. 1230 A.D.), NSP, 1885, 3rd ed., Bombay, 1921; also ed. Chowkhambha Skt. Series, Benares, 1932. The poet describes himself as the son of Nemāditya of the *Śaṇḍilya-gotra* and grandson of Śrīdhara.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar in *Epi. Ind.*, ix, p. 28. Trivikrama also wrote *Mandālāsū-campū* (ed. J. B. Motuka and K. N. Sane, in *Kāryachāsa-saṃgraha*, Poona 1882). He is quoted anonymously in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kanthābharaṇa* (*Parvatabhedi paritram* ad iv. 36=*Nalacampū* vi. 29).

⁴ All the verses quoted in *Subhāṣitāraṇī Śāraṅgadharapad-dhātī* and *Padmāraṇī* are traceable in the *Nalacampū*; see S. K. De, *Padmāraṇī*, pp. 206-7.

⁵ Ed. Kedārnath and others, in two parts, with the comm. of Śrutasaigara Sūri, NSP, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1916.

Kṛṣṇa, under the patronage of his feudatory, a son of the Cālukya Arikeśarin II. It relates the legend of Yaśodhara, lord of Avantī, the machinations of his wife, his death and repeated rebirths, and final conversion into the Jaina faith. The story, based upon Guṇabhadra's *Uttara-purāṇa*, is not new, having been the subject of many a Jaina work, like the *Apabhraṃśa Jasaharacaritā*⁶ of Puṣpadanta and the Sanskrit *Yaśodhara-caritā*⁷ of Vādirāja Sūri; but it is narrated here, not normally, but in the embellished mode established by Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*, one of its distinctive features being the treatment of the motif of rebirths. A large part of the narrative⁸ indeed deals with experience of different births, but a resolution is at last made to put an end to transmigration by following the teachings of a Jaina sage, named Sudatta. These teachings form the subject of the last three *Āśrāsas* of the work, added as a kind of popular manual of devotion (*U'pāśikūḍhyayana* or Reading for the Devotee) explanatory of the Jaina religious texts. This didactic motive and interweaving of doctrinal matter practically run through the entire work, which Somadeva, like most Jaina authors, makes a means of his religious end. A vast array of authorities, pedantic and poetical, for instance, is assembled in the king's polemic against the killing of animals in sacrifice, while a knowledge of polity is displayed in the elaborate discussion between the king and his ministers. It cannot be denied that Somadeva is highly learned, as well as skilled in constructing magniloquent prose sentences and turning out an

⁶ Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Karañja Jaina Series, Karañja, Berar, 1931.

⁷ Ed. T. A. Gopinath Rao, Sarasvatī Vilāsa Series, Tanjore 1912. In four cantos, composed in the beginning of the 11th century. The author wrote his *Pārśvanātha-caritā* in 1025 A.D.

⁸ For an analysis of the work, see Peterson, Second Report, Bombay, 1884, pp. 35—46.

elegant mass of descriptive and sentimental verses; but the purely literary value of his work has been much exaggerated. If his earnest religious motive is the source of an added interest, it is too obtrusive and dreary to be improved by his respectable rhetoric and pellucid prosody.

These two earlier *Campū* works are fair specimens of the type; and it is not necessary to make more than a bare mention of later and less meritorious attempts. The Jaina legend of *Jīvaṃdhara*, also based on the *Uttara-purāṇa*, forms the subject of the *Jīvaṃdhara-campū*⁹ of uncertain date, composed in eleven *Lambhukas* by Haricandra, who is probably identical with the *Digambara* Jaina Haricandra, the author of the *Dharma-sarmābhyaṇḍaya*.¹⁰ The later *Campūs* of Hindu authors are no better, their subjects being drawn from the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. The *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*,¹¹ ascribed to Bhoja, extends up to the *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa* of the epic story, the sixth or *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* being made up by Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa, son of Gaṅgādhara and Gaṅgāmbikā, while some manuscripts give a seventh or *Uttara-kāṇḍa* by Veṅkaṭarāja. Similarly, Ananta-bhaṭṭa wrote a *Bhārata-campū*¹² in twelve *Stavakas*. There are several *Bhāgavata-campūs*,¹³ for instance, by Cidambara (in three *Stavakas*),

⁹ Ed. T. S. Kuppasvami Sastri, Sarasvatī Vilāsa Series, Tanjore 1905.

¹⁰ Ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay, 1899. It is in 21 cantos, and deals with the story of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthankara on the direct model of Māgha's poem.

¹¹ Printed many times in India. Ed. K. P. Parab, with the comm. of Rāmacandra Bhudendra, NSP, Bombay, 1898. This edition contains the 6th *Kāṇḍa* of *Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa*. Another supplement entitled, *Yuddha-kāṇḍa-campū*, by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita is known (ed. T. R. Cintamani in *THQ*, vi, 1930, pp. 629-38).

¹² Ed. K. P. Parab, with comm. of Rāmacandra Bhudendra, NSP, Bombay 1903 (also ed. 1916). Very often printed in India.

¹³ See P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Catalogue*, vii, p. 3082f;—Several other *Campūs* on the stories of the two epics and the *Bhāgavata* are listed in the different catalogues of manuscripts.

by Rāmabhadra and by Rājanātha. On the separate episodes of the Epics and the *Bhāgavata*, there are also several *Campūs*, but they are not so well known. The *Purāṇa* myths also claimed a large number of *Campūs*; for instance, the *Nṛsiṃha-campū* of Keśava-bhaṭṭa,¹⁴ son of Nārāyaṇa (in six *stotukas*), by Daivajña Sūrya¹⁵ (in five *Ucchoṣas*), and by Saṅkaraṣaṇa (in four *Ullāsas*), all dealing with the story of *Prahlāda*'s deliverance by the Man-Lion incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. The *Pārijāta-haraṇa-campū*¹⁶ of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, who flourished in the second half of the 16th century, is concerned with the well known *Purāṇa* legend of Kṛṣṇa's exploit. The *Nīlakaṇṭha-rijaṇa-campū*¹⁷ of the South Indian Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita was composed in 1637 A.D. on the myth of the churning of the ocean by gods.¹⁸ All these are rather literary exercises than creative works.

The *Campū* form of composition appears to have been popular and largely cultivated in Southern India, but

¹⁴ Ed. Hariprasad Bhagavat, Krishnaji Nanapat Press, Bombay 1909.

¹⁵ Son of Jñānādhirāja of Pārthapara. He was an astronomer of some repute, who wrote his *Sūrya-prakāśa* in 1539 A.D. and his commentary on the *Līlāvatī* in 1542 A.D. He also wrote the *Rāma-kṛṣṇa-viloma-kāṇḍa*, a small poem of 36 or 38 stanzas which praises in alternate half verses Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the text given by the second half when read backward being the same as that of the first half read forward (ed. Kāvya-mūlā, Guechaka ix, NSP, Bombay, 1899—36 verses; ed. Haeblerlin, reprinted in Jivananda's *Kāṇḍa-saṅgraha*, iii, pp. 463-65—38 verses).

¹⁶ Ed. Durgaprasada and K.P. Parab, NSP, 2nd ed. Bombay, 1889, 1900. The author also wrote the drama *Kaṁsa-radha* in seven acts (ed. NSP, Bombay, 1888). The author lived in the court of Akbar and wrote this work for Todar Mall's son.

¹⁷ Ed. C. Sankararama Sastri, Bālamānoraṁ Press, Madras 1924. Also ed. J. B. Modaka and K. N. Sane in *Kaṇṭhā-saṅgraha*, Poona 1882.

¹⁸ The *Svāhā-sudhākara* (ed. Kāvya-mūlā, Guechaka iv, p. 52f) of the Kerala poet Nārāyaṇa, who lived towards the end of the 16th century, is sometimes taken as a *Campū*, but it is really a short poem (26 verses), with occasional prose, presenting the rather thin *Purāṇic* story of the love of Svāhā and the Moon god.

nothing will be gained by pursuing its history further except mentioning some curious developments in the hands of some later practitioners of the type. We find that not only myths and legends were drawn upon as themes, but that the form came to be widely and conveniently applied to purposes other than purely literary: Occasional description, philosophical or technical exposition and religious propaganda became some of the non-literary objectives of the *Campū*. Thus, Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita, son of Veṅkaṭeśa and Anantāmmā of *Vādhūla-gotra*, wrote towards the third quarter of the 16th century his *Yātrā-* (or *Tīrthayātrā-*) *prabandha*,¹⁹ describing in nine *Āśrūsas*, with plenty of interspersed verses, a pilgrimage which he undertook with his elder brother to the holy shrines of Southern India, and incidentally enlarging upon the stock poetic subjects of the six seasons, sunrise, sunset, erotic sports and the like. The work is a praiseworthy attempt to divert the *Campū* from its narrow groove, but the traditional rhetoric thwarts and prevents the assertion of a natural vein. The *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya*²⁰ of the woman-poet Tirumalāmbā, gives a highly romantic version, in the usual mannered style, of an historical incident in the career of the Vijayanagara king Acyutarāya. It describes the romance of the love and wedding of Varadāmbikā with the author's own husband and royal lover Acyutarāya. The *Citra-campū* of Bāṇeśvara Vidvālaṅkāra²¹ eulogises the author's

¹⁹ Ed. Kedarnath and V. L. Paushikar, NSP, Bombay 1908. It is the same work as that noticed, but vaguely described, by Eggeling, *Ind. Office Cat.*, vii, p. 1538, no. 4036.

²⁰ Ed. Lakshman Sarup, Lahore 1938(?). The editor notes that the *Campū* contains the largest compounds to be found in Sanskrit, but this is hardly complimentary!—See P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Catalogue*, vii, pp. 3245-46, no. 4220.

²¹ Ed. Rameharan Chakravarti, Benares, 1940. For MS see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue* vii, pp. 1543-45, no. 4044. The work was composed about 1744 A.D.—Śrīharṣa mentions a

patron, Citrasena of Vardhamāna (Burdwan), Bengal, and gives some quasi-historical information about the Maratha raid of Bengal of 1742 A.D. The versatile Veṅkaṭādhvarin,²² son of Raghunātha and Sītāmbā of the *Ātreya-gotra* of Conjeevaram, whose literary activity was almost synchronous with that of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, conceived the idea of quickening the *Campū* with a mild zest for disputation and satire. He composed a curious *Campū*, entitled *Viśva-guṇādarśa*,²³ in which two *Gandharras*, *Viśvārasu* and *Kṛṣṇan*, take a bird's-eye view of various countries from their aerial car, the former generous in appreciation of their qualities, the latter censorious of their defects. The device is adapted in the *Tattva-guṇādarśa*²⁴ of Annayārya, which describes the comparative merits of *Śaivism* and *Vaiṣṇavism* in the form of a conversation between Jaya and Vijaya, a Śaivite and a Vaiṣnavite respectively. Local legends and festivals, or praise of local deities and personages also supply the inspiration of many a *Campū*. The *Śrīnivāsa-rilāsa-campū*²⁵ of Veṅkaṭeśa, for instance, describes the glory of the well known deity Śrī *Veṅkaṭeśvara* of Tirupati in the highly artificial style of Subandhu. The *Vedāntācārya-*

Narasāhasāhika-carita-campū composed by himself, in his *Naigadhā* (xxii, 22), presumably on an historical theme: but nothing is known of this work.

²² Veṅkaṭādhvarin was a voluminous writer, and composed, among other works, the *Yādava-rāgharīya* (a short *Dvī-sandhāna Kāvya* of about three hundred verses, which relates, by the *Viloma* device, the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata* simultaneously), a supplement (the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*) to Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*, and several poems, plays and *Stotras*. See *Ind. Culture*, vi, p. 227 for other works of this author.

²³ Ed. P. G. Yogi and M. G. Bakre, NSP, 5th ed. Bombay, 1923; also ed. with a commentary, Karnatak Press, Bombay 1889.

²⁴ See *Descriptive Cat., Madras Govt. Orient. Lib.*, xxi, p. 8223, no. 12295.

²⁵ Ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay, 1893,

*riṣaya*²⁶ of *Kaṛi-tārkika-siṃha* Vedāntācārya describes the life of the South Indian teacher, Vedāntadeśika, the disputations held by him with *Advaitins* and his polemic successes. The *Vidraṇ-moḍa-taraṅgiṇī*²⁷ of Rāmacandra Ciraṅjīva Bhaṭṭācārya, a comparatively modern work, is a witty composition which brings together the followers of schools and sects, and, by means of their exposition, pools together the essence of various beliefs and doctrines. But the most strange application of the *Campū* form occurs in the *Mandāra-maṇḍa-campū*²⁸ of Kṛṣṇa, which is nominally a *Campū* but is in fact a regular treatise on rhetoric and prosody, composed with elaborate definitions and illustrations.

As the Jaina writers made use of the *Campū* for religious propaganda, the Bengal *Vaiṣṇava* school also did the same in respect of their creed and belief in the *Kṛṣṇa*-legend, not only presenting erotico-religious pictures of great sensuous charm, but also making it the vehicle of their elaborate theology. The *Muktā-caritra*²⁹ of Raghunātha-dāsa, a disciple of Caitanya, relates a short tale, in which Kṛṣṇa demonstrates that pearls could be grown as a crop by sowing and watering them with milk, but of which the real object is to show the superior-

²⁶ *Descriptive Cat., Madras Govt. Orient. Lib.*, xxi, p. 8290, no. 12365.

²⁷ Ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912. The author's *Mādhara-campū* has been edited by Satyavrata Samasramī, Calcutta, 1831. For the author, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 294. He lived in the first half of the 18th century, his *Uṭṭa-ratnāvalī*, a work on Prosody in honour of Yaśovanta Siṃha, Nāyab-Dewān of Dacca under Sujā-ul-du'lah of Bengal, being dated 1731 A.D.

²⁸ Ed. Kedarnath and V. L. Panshikar, NSP, Bombay, 2nd ed., 1924. As the work copies some definitions from Appayya Dīksita, it cannot be earlier than the 17th century. The *Rasa-prakāśa* commentary on Mammata's *Kāvyā-prakāśa* is probably his.

²⁹ Ed. Notya-varupa Brahmachari, Devakinandan Press, Brindāban, 1917, in Bengli characters.

ity of Kṛṣṇa's free love for Rādhā over his wedded love for Satyabhāmā. But the *Gopāla-campū*³⁰ of Jīva Gosvāmin, nephew of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the *Ananda-vṛndāvana-campū*³¹ of Paramānanda-dāsa-sena Kavikarṇapūra are much more extensive and elaborate works, which describe the childhood, youth and manhood of Kṛṣṇa in a lavishly luscious and rhetorical style. Kavikarṇapūra's work deals in twenty-two *Starakas* with the early life of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana; but Jīva's huge *Campū* in 70 chapters (which occupy 3940 pages in the Calcutta printed edition!) envisages the entire career of Kṛṣṇa, and makes modification in the legends in accordance with the *Vaiṣṇava* theology of the Bengal school, of which it is more of the nature of a *Siddhānta-grantha*.

³⁰ Ed. Nityasvarup Brahmachari, in two parts (*Pūrva* and *Uttara Khaṇḍas*), Devakinandan Press, Brindavan 1904; also ed. Rasavihāri Sāṅkhyatīrtha, with comm. of Viracandra, in two parts, Devakinandan Press, Calcutta, 1908-1913, in Bengali characters.

³¹ Ed. in the *Pandit*, vol. ix and x, New Series, vols. i-iii; also published in parts, by Madhusudan Das, with comm. of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Hugli, 1918, etc., in Bengali characters (incomplete). For a detailed account of these two Bengal *Vaiṣṇava Campūs*, see S.K. De, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 472-493.

THE LOCATION OF Uḍḍiyāna

By DR. B. BHATTACHARYA

The location of *Uḍḍiyāna* still remains unsettled. According to Tibetan traditions *Uḍḍiyāna* is the place where *Tāntric* Buddhism took its origin, and hence a correct, or at least an approximate, location is important for the historians of Buddhist *Tāntric* culture.

Uḍḍiyāna is sometimes placed in the Swat valley, but it is also identified with the distant Kashgarh. Although sometimes it is also equated with Orissa, the latest tendency seems to be in favour of locating *Uḍḍiyāna* in Bengal or Assam.

Uḍḍiyāna is frequently mentioned in *Tāntric* Buddhist literature, and by Tibetan authorities, such as Taranath and Sumpa. The confusion regarding the location of the place seems to arise from the hazy ideas of Taranath and Sumpa who could not understand the difference in sound between *Uḍḍiyāna*, *Oḍra*, *Oḍryāna* or *Oḍriśa*, and *Urgyen*. While *Uḍḍiyāna*, *Oḍḍiyāna* or *Oḍiyāna* is the place where *Tāntric* Buddhism took its origin, *Oḍra*, *Oḍryāna* or *Oḍriśa* is the name of a country which is almost equivalent to modern Orissa. The third *Urgyen* is the same as *Uḍyāna* in the Swat valley.

According to the fancy of different scholars *Uḍḍiyāna* may be identified either with Orissa or *Uḍyāna* of the Swat valley, but how it can be taken to the distant Kashgarh defies my imagination.

Uḍḍiyāna is mentioned in the *Sūḍhanamālā* rather frequently. The earliest manuscript of the *Sūḍhanamālā* is dated in the Newari era 285, or 1165 A.D. In this work *Uḍḍiyāna* is connected with the *Sādhana* of *Kurukullā*, *Trailokyaraśaṅkara*—a variety of *Aralokiteśvara*,

Mārīcī—the sow-faced goddess, and the furious deity *Vajrayoginī*. The *Sādhanamālā* also connects *Uḍḍiyāna* with such *Tāntric* authors as Sarahapāda who composed a Sanskrit work : *Uḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-mahāguhya-tattvopadeśa*. The *Sādhanamālā* further mentions *Uḍḍiyāna* along with the three other *Pīṭhas*,—*Kāmākhyā*, *Sirihatṭa* and *Pūrṇagiri*,—while describing the *Sādhana* of *Vajrayoginī*. Besides these, the *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti—a *Vajrayāna* work of great fame—mentions it in the last colophon as *Śrīmaduḍḍiyāna-vinirgata*, thereby connecting Indrabhūti the author with *Uḍḍiyāna*.

Can we with the help of the material above indicated from purely Sanskrit sources, locate *Uḍḍiyāna* correctly? *Uḍḍiyāna* being one of the four *Pīṭhas* sacred to *Vajrayoginī* should be at least near *Kāmākhyā* (*Kāmarūpa*) and *Sirihatṭa* (Sylhet) in Assam, and it is not unusual to think that all these four *Pīṭhas* received their sanctity from temples dedicated to the furious Buddhist deity *Vajrayoginī*. In order to locate *Uḍḍiyāna* in Bengal or Assam or to connect the place with *Vajrayoginī* it is not necessary for us to rely on Tibetan sources.

But the Tibetan sources throw no less light on the problem of the identity of *Uḍḍiyāna*. Indrabhūti is said to be the king of *Uḍḍiyāna* in Tibetan traditions. He was the father of Padmasambhava who married the sister of the famous Buddhist logician Śāntarakṣita of Zāhor. Tibetan history also records that Śāntarakṣita and his brother-in-law Padmasambhava together founded the first regular monastery at Samye in Tibet in the year 749 A.D. Thus *Uḍḍiyāna* is connected with another locality which is called by Tibetans as Zāhor.

The pressure of evidence in favour of *Uḍḍiyāna* being located in Bengal is so overwhelming, that this fact is gradually being realised by sensible writers, and an excellent résumé of the problem will be found in *Indian*

Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI (1935), pp. 142f. under an article entitled '*Uḍḍiyāna and Sāhore*' by Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta. It is not necessary to repeat here all that Mr. Das Gupta has said in his learned article, or his conclusions.

The chief reason why *Uḍḍiyāna* should be located in Bengal is that the *Tāntric mystics* who are said to be connected with *Uḍḍiyāna* are also described by Tāranath and Sumpa as Bengalis.

But in what part of Bengal *Uḍḍiyāna* should be located? The location of *Uḍḍiyāna* is again dependent on the identification of Zāhor, the native place of Śāntarakṣita whose sister was given to Padmasambhava in marriage. Zāhor is identified with *Sābhār*, a 7th-8th century village in the Dacca district.

In this short paper I offer a suggestion for the location of *Uḍḍiyāna* near *Sābhār* in the Dacca district.

Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has shown that in mediæval times, *Vaiṣṇu* and *Samatata* were the two important centres of culture in Bengal. *Vaiṣṇu* included the present Dacca, Faridpur and Backarganj districts while *Samatata* comprised the present Sylhet, Chittagong, Tipperah and Mymensing districts. That *Vaiṣṇu* and *Samatata* were the two great centres of culture in Bengal is shown by the numerous Buddhist and Brahmanical images of the early *Tāntric* type discovered in this region. Numerous old inscriptions, remains of old buildings, coins and terracottas found in these regions also confirm the opinion of Dr. Bhattasali.

In this *Vaiṣṇu-Samatata* region, one of the most important and one of the most historical places is Vikramapura in the Dacca district. Any one acquainted with the ancient inscriptions of Bengal will be able to appreciate the importance of Vikramapura which is sometimes mentioned as the seat from which imperial charters were

issued. There was a great Buddhist monastery here in the reign of the Chandras and the Senas. *Atiśa Dīpaṅkara*, famous in Tibetan history, is said to have been born in the royal family of Vikramapura. *Pargana* Vikramapura even to this day retains its ancient tradition of greatness in being recognised as one of the foremost places of culture in East Bengal.

In *Pargana* Vikramapura there is a fairly large and well-populated village which is now known by the rather extraordinary name of *Vajrayoginī* (pronounced as *Bajrajoginī*). Round about this village numerous *Vajrayāna* images have been found, and amongst them we notice images of *Jambhala*, *Parṇasavarī*, *Vajrasattva* and *Tārā*.

Apart from these purely Buddhistic and *Tāntric* evidences, the name of the village itself is most interesting. Why should the village be called by the name of *Vajrayoginī*? We know *Vajrayoginī* to be a violent Buddhist deity of the *Vajrayāna* pantheon. She is the Buddhist original of the Hindu *Chinnamastā*, although *Vajrayoginī* is credited with a less violent form also. (*Sādhanaṃālā* No. 233).

The term '*Vajra*' in *Vajrayoginī* is a familiar Buddhist term. *Vajra* is equivalent to '*Śūnya*'. Thus the name of the village appears to me to be unmistakably Buddhist, and I am inclined to believe that the village derived its present name from the temple of *Vajrayoginī* which must have been then in existence in early times.

It has already been pointed out that temples dedicated to *Vajrayoginī* could only be expected at four places according to the two references in the *Sādhanaṃālā*. These four places are *Kāmākhyā*, *Sirihatṭa*, *Pūrṇagiri* and *Uddiyāna*. Out of these *Kāmākhyā* and *Sirihatṭa* have retained their original names, *Pūrṇagiri* which signifies a hill is not identified yet with certainty. But it is

possible to spot the fourth place *Uḍḍiyāna*, which should be near *Sābhār* and should be connected with *Vajrayoginī*. Thus it becomes evident that the present village of *Vajrayoginī* was originally known as *Uḍḍiyāna*, but as the deity *Vajrayoginī* became more popular later, the original name gradually disappeared giving place to the name of the deity. Such changes in the place-names are not rare in any part of India (compare—*Kālighāt*, *Jagannāth*, *Tārakeśvara*, *Ambājī*, *Bechrājī*, etc.). That the place was connected with *Śakti* worship can be seen from the temple of *Kālī* at present existing in the village.

According to the *Vajrayoginī Sūdhana*, *Uḍḍiyāna* was sacred to *Vajrayoginī*, and perhaps the temple of *Vajrayoginī* was its chief temple. It was a centre of *Śakti* worship as *Vajrayoginī* is to-day. Would it be deviating too far from science if the present village of *Vajrayoginī* is equated with the ancient *Uḍḍiyāna*? The identification proposed here may or may not be correct, but I think I have indicated here sufficiently the importance of the ancient village in the *Vikramapur Pargana*. We ought to study the village and its surroundings better in the expectation of valuable historical and cultural data.

URDU MARSIYA (FROM EARLIEST TIME UP TO 1840 A.D.)

BY CAPTAIN S. M. ZAMIN ALI.

Pleasure and pain are the two chief aspects of human nature. Happiness and grief are the two fruits of life which every soul has got to taste frequently. Involuntary ejaculations or sighs are the outbursts of excessive joy or intense pain. These outbursts suggest that while a person is lost in happiness or overpowered with grief, he is unconsciously betraying his inner feelings and unintentionally inviting the hearer to share his joy or grief. The ejaculations and sighs cannot do more than to arouse the attention and curiosity. In order to make the hearer share one's grief or happiness it is necessary that the ejaculations and sighs should be imitated in words. If they are given suitable and effective expression of words they create the same emotion in the mind of the hearer. Whatever be the form of expression—be it prose or poetry—the electricity of poignant words would not fail in impressing the heart more or less. But poetry, as it has been defined as 'the fit expression of fit emotions', would be more suitable for the purpose. In poetry deep interests of life are spoken of intimately and sincerely. The forms of conventions and restraints of art lend dignity to expressions and enhance the sharpness of words. No such thing is possible in prose. Moreover poetry is a touchstone for insincerity. If a poet does not feel what he desires to express, he cannot make a successful poem. The faithful expression in poetry of a sincere feeling would, like wireless telegraphy, impress the heart of the hearer. There is a well-known saying in Persian 'انچه از دل خیود بر دل ریود' in Urdu 'اگر جانی ہے دل میں بات' جو دل سے نکلتی ہے

(whatever comes from heart goes direct into the heart) *e.g.*

ان ہوں جگر میں اٹھتی ہے اک درد سا دل میں ہوتا ہے
میں راتوں کو اٹھ اٹھ روتا ہوں جب سارا عالم سوتا ہے

Again, "Poetry is imaginative passion." The quickest and subtlest test of the possession of its essence is in expression. The variety of things to be expressed show the amount of its resources and the continuity of the song completes the evidence of its strength and greatness. It includes whatsoever of painting can be made visible to the mind's eyes and whatsoever of music can be conveyed by sound and proportion without singing or instrumentations. The highest class of poetry, as has universally been admitted, is the epic which contains thought, feeling, emotion, expression, imagination, action, character and continuity, all in the largest amount and highest degree. It includes the drama with narrations besides, or the speaking and action of the characters with the speaking of the poet himself.

It was by virtue of these qualities that poetry was adopted for writing marsiya or elegy. Although Marsiya literally means "To mourn the deceased", it gives an account of the heroic deeds of the departed soul as well. A poet does not, rather cannot, mourn alone. He makes the whole world around him share his grief. He does not only describe in plain words the qualities of the deceased, or the circumstances to which he was driven, or the noble death, or the notable death with which he met, but gives such touches to his narrations and decorates it with such gloomy accessories that every word of it plays daggers to the heart of the hearer.

This sort of poetry is found in one form or the other almost in all literatures of the world. For instance, *Lycidas* by Milton, *In Memoriam* by Tennyson and *Elegy* by Gray and many others in English; Qasaid of Marsiyas in Arabic, Regular Marsiyas and قطعات تاریخ etc. in

Persian. As to Sanskrit in Kalidasa's "*Kumāra Sambhava*" Rati (Venus) laments the death of Kāma (Cupid).

Before we go further let me say that although the term marsiya can literally be applied to any poetic expression of grief and lamentation on the loss of anything or person, yet it has got a special significance too. Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam* gives the meaning of Marsiya on page 327 in the following words:—

"The term marsiya is especially applied to those sung during the Moharram in commemoration of the great tragedy of Husain and his followers at Karabala." This is the correct sense in which we use the word. The single word marsiya, unless the name on whom it is written is mentioned, always denotes what the learned compiler of the *Dictionary of Islam* has written and it would be in this sense that I shall use the word hereafter.

It may also be added that I shall be inserting at places in this essay instances of composition from model authors simply to show the different stages of the development of Marsiya. As such random quotations do not fully represent the poet or his work a bit more than what a nutshell can show of the whole universe, it is hoped that the reader will kindly read the entire work of an author to realize and endorse the force of the critical remarks made in this article.

As Urdu, with which we are concerned at present, owes to Arabic and Persian Literatures very much for its poetry, let us take a cursory view of the marsiyas in these languages.

In tracing the origin of marsiya the Arabs have gone so far back as the time of Adam. According to them Adam showed the lines of marsiya by mourning the loss of Paradise and lamenting the death of his son. The language and form in which he lamented are not known to us but plain it is that the first expression which the first

man made in this bleak and dreary world was that of grief and thus marsiyas being only the regular expressions of pathetic emotions and sentiments took their birth at the very moment when Adam set his foot on this earth.

The Arabs used to compose marsiyas in the same form and with the same poetic restrictions as they did the Qasidas. Like Qasidas, Marsiyas too had on some occasions been the cause of exciting one tribe against the other and arousing martial spirit in the army. Simplicity, fluency, and pathos were the notable features of marsiyas in those days. Here is a specimen taken from the Marsiya composed by **دعبل خراعی**

آفاطمُ لو خلت الحسین مجدلاً * قد مات عطشانا بشط فرات
اذا لطمت الخد فاطم عنده * و اجربت و مع العین فی الوخبات

“O Fatima! If you were to live and see how your son Husain in his thirst was butchered on the bank of Euphrates, you would surely have torn your face and wept with tears of blood.”

In Persian the form of Marsiyas remained for some time the same as in Arabic. Later on the Persians, perhaps not liking to confine themselves in one form only, invented several forms and adopted different metres. They invented the forms of

سوز - سلام - نوحه - واقعات - ترکیب بند - ترجیم بند and تزویم

In all these forms with the exception of **واقعات** the Persians used to compose the lamentations only. In **واقعات**, they used to narrate the events as well as the tragic portion and the lamentations. The term Marsiya, by virtue of its literal meaning, could be applied to any of the said forms. Intensity of pathos, height of imagination, force of style and poignancy of description are the remarkable characteristics of the Persian Marsiyas. Here is a specimen taken from the Marsiya composed by **محتشم کاشی**

چو خون ز حلق تشنه او بر زمیں رسید
 جوش از زمیں بہ دروۂ عرش بریں رسید
 نکل بلند او چو خسل بر زمیں زدند
 طوفانی بہ آسلی ز غبار زمیں رسید
 باد آن غبار چوں بہ مزار نبی رساند
 گرد از مدینہ برفلک ہفتمین رسید
 کرد این خیال وہم غلط کارگل غبار
 تا دامن جلال جہاں آفریں رسید
 هست از ملال گرچہ بری ذات ذوالجلال
 او در دل ست و هیچ دلے نیست جز ملال

Urdu at first adopted the lines of Persians for its Marsiyas. Like other forms of Urdu Poetry, Marsiya, too, took its birth in the Deccan. After the overthrow of Bahmani Kingdom (of which the last king was Mahmud Bahmani Shah) Sultan Quli Qutub Shah captured the throne in 1518. As he himself was a poet, the art of poetry was very much patronized by him. It was in his time that Marsiya was composed by Shuja Uddin Nuri for the first time in Urdu. Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah while composing love-songs has given expression to his religious feelings and beliefs in the following lines :--

دو جگ امامل دکھ تھ سب جیو کرے زاری وائے وائے
 تن روں کی لکڑ جان کر کرتے ہیں خواری وائے وائے
 اسل چھج جالا ہوا سورج آگن والا ہوا
 چندر سورج کالا ہوا اے دکھ ایاری وائے وائے

صدا تو مدح علی اور نبی کی کہتا ہے
 معانی شعر ترا تو لکھے ہیں دست بدست
 حسین جی کی شہادت ہوئی جو کربل میں
 تو برگ شاخ بھی مارے ہے اپنا دست بدست

His successors took the title of Qutub Shah and almost all of them were poets. Abdullah Qutub Shah says:—

جب وہ ابر رحمت اس جگہ پر ہوا ہے فیض بار

شیعیان کے تئیں اتھا وہ دن مگر بہبود کا

The marsiyas were composed by almost all the poets of the age.

The marsiyas had become so popular that they were composed in Tamil and Telegu as well. The full text of Marsiyas is extinct but couplets from here and there are to be found in those recited in majlises. Shuja Uddin Nuri, Hashim Burhanpuri and Kazim Ali were the best marsiya writers during the 16th century and their compositions are still found in the Edinburgh University Library.

The Marsiyas were written in those days either in the form of نظم مسلسل or scattered couplets. They took the form of مریج later on. The marsiyas of this time were full of pathos and simplicity and have been written merely for being recited in majlises. Some instances of the marsiyas composed in the Deccan during the Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi reign (which came to an end in 1686 and 1687 respectively) are given below:—

شجاع الدین نوری

کوئی نظم اس میں تو کرتا نہ تھا

وہ سب تعصب دیا ہم مٹا

نہ کچھ خوف کھایا نہ جھجھکا ذرا

وہم مڑیے سے سہل کردیا

شروع میں کیا نظم کل واقعا

وہم تک کا احوال پورا لکھا

میں جب اس کو لوگوں کے آگے پڑھا

عجب حال عاشور خانہ میں تھا

جن و انس کرتے تھے سب واہ وا

کہ دکھن میں لکھا گیا مڑیا

زمن اپنے میں کس نے ایسا لکھا
 کبھی اس سے پہلے سنائے پڑھا
 اماموں سے اس کا ملے گا صلا
 کہ ہے نوری موجد تو اس طرز کا

غواصی

دستا نہیں کروں کیا او بیان کربلا کا
 پھرنا ہوں زار ہوں میں حیران کربلا کا
 آسمان تے خدایا، جبریل اوتر کو آیا
 روتا اوپر تے لایا فرمان کربلا کا
 کمر باندھے کربلا میں کر شکر ہر بلا میں
 کیوں ہے کہ کربلا میں سلطان کربلا کا
 ہے دکھ بڑا یو سب تے نین کس قرابت تے
 پکڑ یا حسین جب تے میدان کربلا کا
 دکھ سر ملک لئے ہیں ماتم زدے ہوئے ہیں
 رو رو دریا کٹے ہیں آسمان کربلا کا
 جلتا ہے سور جوتی دنیا کھری ہے روتی
 کان تے ہوا یو کوئی مہمان کربلا کا
 منجھہ سک نہ ہیں ہے دو کہ بن توں میں نڈھال چھن چھن
 لا گیا ہے رات ہو ر دن منجھہ دھیان کربلا کا
 کرو رو کر بسارا منجھہ شان کرتے ہارا
 سو ہے حسین پیارا شہ جان کربلا کا
 غواصیا معطر عالم کون سب کیا ہے
 گویا یو مٹیہ ہے ریحان کربلا کا

ماد محکم سوز سون آیا اہل دل منیر سون
 روتا عالم یک ریز سون کیا کلم کیتا ہائے ہائے
 کر بادشاہی پر منم شاہان کون دیتا غم ہو غم
 مظلوم پر کرے ستم حیفی نہ کھایا ہائے ہائے

دکھہ شاہ زانے کون دینا بدننامی اپنے سرلیا
 آخر او کافر کیوں کیا اپناچ بتایا ہائے ہائے
 روئے ملک سب عرش لک سورج ستارا اپنا جہلک
 مشرق سے تا مغرب تلک اندکار پاریا ہائے ہائے
 غم سون پکر بیت الخرن یعقوب نے کھویا نہیں
 شہیں کے بہانے کوہ کن آپ جیو گنوا یا ہائے ہائے
 بولے غواصی مرثیہ سن روئے دکن کے اولیا
 ہر سال کا یو مرثیہ کیا کلم کیتا ہائے ہائے

عبداللہ قطب شاہ—وفات سنہ ۱۰۸۳ھ مطابق سنہ ۱۶۷۲ع

علی ہور فاطمہ کرتے ہیں دونو آہ زاری بھی
 حسن کا سور حسین کا دو کہ لے آیا جگ ہو خواری بھی
 حسین جب چلے لڑنے سر ان یہیں پر لگے پرے
 شہیدان ہر طرف چرنے لگیا یو دو کہ پیاری بھی
 شہر بانو کہی آکر کہ اے سنسار کے سرور
 منجے غربت نے بہا کر نہ جاؤ چھوڑ باری بھی
 منجے کے جاوے یوں حال تمن بعد از میرا کیا حال
 کرو مت غم نے ہائمال دیو درس تمہاری بھی
 علی اکبر کہے میں جانوں سو پیاساں جو یا لے لائنوں
 زخم کھا کر آتے پھر اب تھا نون بھی ہے مشک ساری بھی
 دیکھہ طفلان منگے ہانی نہ کر ذرہ مہربانی
 ستم سوں تیر مارا نے کئے او نابکاری بھی
 حسین ہانی ہنی اے یزیدان تیر ہر سائے
 سو ہانی پینے نہیں ہائے لگے کلہ لہو کی دھاری بھی
 بغیر ار ظلم بیدادی نہ تھی اس وقت کچھ شادی
 ہوئی قاسم کی دامادی دیکھو تقدیر باری بھی
 عروس آکر پکر دامن چلے تو شو ہو جب جہو جہو
 نشانی کچھہ دینو منجھن سو پیارا سین تماری بھی

حسین کا وقت جب دنیا شمر نے آگلا کاتیا
 حرم کا دیکھہ سینا پیا دینا اور آپ کاری بھی
 یزید دیکھا حسین کا سر بھرایا پیت سوں بھر بھر
 سو دیکھو لعنتی کافر کیا کفر اختیاری بھی
 کرو اے دوستان ماتم ثواب ہے بہت کرنا غم
 مدد ہو وینگے امام ہر دم کی ہے امیدواری بھی
 حسین کا دکھہد لمیں آن لگایک چٹ سوں داتم وہاں
 کرے قطب عبداللہ سلطانی دو کنوسوں شہر یاری بھی

ہاشم علی برہان پوری (۲۵۰ مرتبے کہے ہیں)

تھا بر اولاد شفیع المذنبین * ظلم بے حد در جہاں اقسام کا
 زخم لاگا مرتضیٰ کے سر اُپر * گر پڑا جوں آفتاب اس ایام کا
 زہر دے مارے حسن کوں مکرسیں * سبز تھا وہ چہرہ گلفام کا
 کربلا میں تھا حسین ابن علی * آج غم ہے گا انہیں ایام کا

علی عادل شاہ بیجا پور سنہ ۱۹۵۶ ع سے سنہ ۱۹۷۲ ع تک
 شہ کے غم سوں دل ہے نالیں ہائے ہائے
 جگ بہستی جوں ابھالا ہائے ہائے
 جگ کے سرور دل کے لہو سوں بھر چلے
 پھور کر پلکھاں کے بالا ہائے ہائے
 کربلا کی سب زمیں رنگیں ہوئی
 لہو بھرے دل دل کے ماندن ہائے ہائے
 اس شدیاں کوں کھول آنکیاں دیک توں
 ہے ہر شہ کے او دھالیں ہائے ہائے
 کر خوشی ہوو خرمی کے گر پڑے
 آہ کے چھنے میں نالیں ہائے ہائے
 نت کر عادل علی یک دل ستے
 شہ کا ماتم ماہ و سالیں ہائے ہائے

غلام علی خاں لطیف

اے اہل درد اشک سون انکھیاں کو تر کرو
 نکلیا ہے پھر یو ما ہے محرم نظر کرو
 نازل زمیں ہو سر تے ہوا غم حسین کا
 ماتم زد یں کواٹک طرفتے خبر کرو
 سلطان کربلا کی غریبی کون یاد کر
 ٹکڑے جگر کون ہور دلاں خنجر کرو
 ہے درد اگر تمدن کون قیامت کے دھوپ کا
 سایہ کون اہلبیت کے سر کا چھتر کرو
 بے دہن ہو یزید کیا دین میں خلل
 لعنت مدام اس کے اوپر سر بسر کرو
 گر شہ علی ہے بات میں ثابت قدم تمیں
 آیات ہور حدیث ہور سبی میں اثر کرو
 آل عبا کے غم سون جنم آج صرف کر
 محشر کے دیس ذوق خوشیا ندن اثر کرو
 غواص کے زمانکے اچھے ہے لطیف تو
 اے عارفان ہو یاد تمہیں یو اجہر کرو

سید میران ہاشمی (وفات سنہ ۱۱۰۹ھ مطابق ۱۹۹۷ء)

دلہند مصطفیٰ کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 فرزند مرتضیٰ کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 سلطان دو جہاں کا سردار اولیا کا
 مظلوم کربلا کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 حضرت حسین حسن کا شاہ زمیں زمین کا
 حضرت نبی کے من کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 حضرت کے تھے نوائے حیدر کے تھے خلاصے
 ہوئے شہید پیائے تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 اے ہاشمی شہان کا سلطان دو جہاں کا
 مقبول اس جہاں کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں

کافلم علی کافلم

(a) تم اپنے دلبراں کی خبر لو علی ولی
 بے تاج سروراں کی خبر لو علی ولی (مربع)
 نیزوں اوپر سران کی خبر لو علی ولی
 ظلم ستم گراں کی خبر لو علی ولی

آرام دل سکینہ بیتاب کون نہیں
 انکھیل میں اسکے راہ خواب کون نہیں
 کہیں انتہا یو درد کے اسباب کون نہیں
 غم ہائے بے کراں کی خبر لو علی ولی

(b) آج پترے دن میں بے حان حسینا
 ظلم و ستم سون بن نے حیران حسینا
 حد کا دل میں لے چلے ارمان حسینا
 پائے نہیں اس درد کا درمان حسینا

(c) پیے نہیں اس حیدر آج پانی
 چوکاریں دین کے رہبر آج پانی
 کہیں روئے زمیں پر آج پانی
 مگر در حوض کوثر آج پانی

دھن سوکھا ہے کافلم غم سون میرا
 نہیں یان آسوا میرا تیرا
 قلم کرتا نہیں کاغذ پہ پھیرا
 سیاہی کون نہ رہبر آج پانی

مرزا بیجا پوری

(مرجم)

شریعت اساسی پہ اتیا ستم
حقیقت شناسی پہ اتیا ستم
نبی کے نواسے پہ اتیا ستم
سب امت کے آسے پہ اتیا ستم

دیا زہر پانی میں یا ظالمین
سو لاگ کلیجے کون جا کر تدهان
جگر تو تھہ حسن کا پرا بے گناہ
مدینہ کے باسی پہ اتیا ستم

حسین ابن حیدر خدا کا ولی
جگر گوشہ فاطمہ اور علی
بروج دہ و دہ کا بدر جلی
شہ کر کھر ایسی پہ اتیا ستم

مبارک بدن سون ہوا سر جدا
ایسی غم سون کہتا ہے مرز سدا
کیا کیا دو بد بخت نے اے خدا
شہنشاہ پیاسے پہ اتیا ستم

الودا اے الودا شاہ شہیداں الودا
الودا ابن علی دو جگ کے سلطان الودا
یو شفق نہیں ہے گگن پر صبح و شام اس درد سون
نت بھراویں لہو منے دامن گردیاں الودا

یہی نہ تنہا لباس نیلا ہے سب محبان کے تن میں غم تھیں
سیاہ پھیرا ہے پتلیوں نے ازل سون جگ کے نین میں غم تھیں
خبر محباں کی اشک ریوی کی جب بد خشاں سون گئی عرب میں
عقیق جتلے تھے سب لہو ہوئے بہ چلے ہیں نمن میں غم تھیں

Ram Rao Siva, a famous marsiya-writer, was a contemporary of Mirza. In 1081 A.D. (i.e., 1092 H.) he translated روضة الشهداء into Urdu poetry. It contains all the tragic events that happened at Karbala.

ذوقی متوفی سنہ ۱۶۹۸ ع
اے شمعِ بزمِ مرتضیٰ گھر آئے کیوں نہیں
تاریک ہے تم بن جہاں جلوہ دکھائے کیوں نہیں
وہ جاہل و دوزخ وطن آئے ہیں بادل کے نمن
جوں برق تیغِ صف شکن شہِ جگمگاتے کیوں نہیں
وہ شمعِ بزمِ مصطفیٰ بادِ اجل سوں گل ہوا
سب سوزِ دل سوں تنِ سدا یاراں گلاتے کیوں نہیں

قاضی محمود بکری—متوفی ۱۷۱۸ ع
جب شاہ کے وجوں مبارک پہ غم ہوا
تب سب جہاں تھے حرفِ خوشی کا عدم ہوا
بکری مدام شاہ کے ماتم میں یوں گلے
جیوں چاندِ آسمان پہ گلِ گل کے کم ہوا

احمد

صلوٰۃ بر محمد صلوٰۃ بر محمد
ہر عبدِ مہزاراں صلوٰۃ بر محمد
یعقوب علی کے گھن کا موتی نبی کے من کا
زہرا فاطمہ کے تن کا صلوٰۃ بر محمد
ولی ویلوی

Translated روضة الشهرا in Urdu poetry in 1119 A.H. (1707 A. D.) which was published from Bombay in 1291 A. H.

معہد اشرف—اشرف گہرا قی

کہاں ہے وہ ولی والی حیدر حسن میرا
 کہاں ہے وہ حسین ابن علی صفدر شکن میرا
 آگن سوں ماتم شہ ے جلا ہے تن بدن میرا
 برنگ برق خرمین سوز دل ہے ہر سخن میرا
 لگا ہے بسکے تیر ماتم شہ دل منے کاری
 شہید کربلا نے غم ہوا ہے جگ میں من میرا

بادو کہیں اصغر نہیں اب میں جھلاؤں کس ے تنیں
 سونا ہوا ہے ہالنا اب میں جھلاؤں کس ے تنیں
 نہلا ے میں کپڑے پنہا اس کو بنانی گل نم
 وہ بھول سو کھا نیرجن اب میں بناؤں کس ے تنیں
 سوتا تھا جب وہ نیند بھر پینے اٹھاتی دودہ کون
 بیدم ہے دیکھو آج وہ اب میں جگاؤں کس ے تنیں
 جب مسکراتا وہ بچا میں شاد ہوتی دل منے
 بیجان پڑا ہے گود میں اب میں ہنساؤں کسکے تنیں

معہد رضی—رضی احمد آبادی

غم سوں ہے بیقرار میرا دل
 دکھ سوں ہے زار زار میرا دل
 گلشنِ غم میں ہے شہیداں ے
 لالہ دغادار میرا دل
 غم کی بجلی پڑی ہے جب سیتے
 تب سوں ہے شعلہ زار میرا دل
 نیم بسمل نم ترپتا ہے
 ہو ے غم کا شکار میرا دل
 گرد غم سوں امام ے اے رضی
 کیوں نہ ہو پر غبار میرا دل

امامی ۱۷۲۵ ع

کیا ظالموں نے ظلم کیا ہے حساب آج
مظلوم کربلا میں ہیں عالی جناب آج
اس غم سوں میں کو ہوا پیچ و تاب آج
گویا علی کے گھر کا کھلا غم کا باب آج
کیوں عرش فرش پر نہ گرا بیقرار ہو
کیوں تاب لاسکے یہ فلک دیکھہ ظلم یو
مینا سے قد کو شہ کے شکستہ کیا دیکھو
سنگیں دلاں نے ظلم کی پی کر شراب آج

غلامی ۱۷۲۵ ع

اب میں جُھلاؤں کسے چھانی لگاؤں کسے
دود پلاؤں کسے ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
نکلی میں جب از وطن کیسی ہوئی تھی شگن
گم ہوئے سارے رتن ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
لوہو میں اکبر مرا زخمی بدن ہے پڑا
تن ہوا سوں جدا ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
حال مرا زار ہے جیونا دشوار ہے
عابدیں بیمار ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
میری سکینہ نہ ہال پیاس سوں ہے خستہ حال
کیا کروں اے ذوالجلال ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
آئی تو آئی کہل، بیٹی بیلاہی کہل
میرا جو آئی کہل ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا

بانو پے کربلا میں کیسا یہ دکھہ پڑا ہے
گودوں میں پیارا اصغر بن دود مر چلا ہے
ہو راندہ بیٹھی بیٹی داماد مر چکا ہے
سر کا چتر بھی ڈھلتا کوئی دم کو آرہا ہے
سمجھانا اس بچی کو اس وقت کیا مصیبت
بابا بنان تڑپنا اور تشنگی کی شدت

- اے بیٹی تیرے بابا کھائے گئے ضیافت
معصوم کا یہ سن کر وہ چند جی جلا ہے
کہنے لگی کہ اماں ہے یہ کیا غضب ہے
مرٹی ہوں بھوک سیتیں پیاسوں سے جاں بلب ہے
ضیافت میں گئے ہیں بابا مجھ کو بن تو کیا سبب ہے
بابا نے مجھ کو شاید شفقت کوں کم کیا ہے

قادر ۱۱۴۹ھ مطابق ۱۷۳۶ع

ہوا شہرہ محرم میں یو غم ہے شاہ عالی کا
کہ ہے فرزند وہ پیارا دونو عالم کے والی کا
چہما ہے دین کا شہرہ کہ جس کے سوگ سوں جگ پر
فلک پر ملک ہیں تائے شمایا رات کالی کا
ستارے سب یہ قدسیں نے ملا کر سب گگن اوپر
حسین کے عرس کو بھاندے منڈف ہو تیل کی بجالی کا

سیدن

ماہ محرم میں دیکھو ہو چندا مالی آٹیا
تارے گگن کے گوند کے سہرا جو شہ کوں لائیا
کنگنا ستم کا باند کر رو کہ کا ابٹا کوں لگا
حیرت کی چوکی کے اوپر اذکھواں سے تن نہ لائیا
دولا حسینا چہر ترنگ سر ڈال مکھنا نور کا
سارے براتی سات لے دولہن کوں بھیا نے دھائیا
باچے بھجرویں بین کے غم کے نفریاں کا ہے غل
ملعون لشکر مل سبھی منڈف تیروں کا چھائیا
سیدن سقا شہ کا سرا میدان تر کرنے بدل
نینوں کی مشکلی اشک سوں بھر بھر کے نت چہر کاٹیا

روحی

آج غم ناک ہیں چمن کے گل
بلکہ دل چاک ہیں سمن کے گل

غم زدہ سینہ داغ حیراں ہیں
 نرگس و لالہ یا سمن کے گل
 یوں یہ لالے شفق کے دستے ہیں
 لہو میں ڈوبے ہیں سب گنگن کے گل
 جب سنی شہ کی بات مجلس میں
 جل بجھے شمع انجمن کے گل
 خوش لگے تجھے طبع سوں اے روحی
 دل کے باغان منے سخن کے گل

نظر

یاراں ہزار حیف رسول خدا نہیں
 اور فاطمہ علی و حسن مجتبیٰ نہیں
 تنہا حسین رن میں کوئی آشنا نہیں
 بازو نہیں رفیق نہیں دلربا نہیں

رمضانی

اس شاہ سروراں کو سرور نہ کہوں تو کیا کہوں
 اس ماہ دو جہاں کو انور نہ کہوں تو کیا کہوں

مدحی

یاراں دو جگ کے شاہ پر صلوات سب کہو
 معنی لالہ پر صلوات سب کہو

یاد

حضرت نبی اپنے نواسیلاں کے خبر لیو
 ہے چور رن میں گھاتل زخماں کی خبر لیو

ندیم

اے صبا غم کی خبر گھر گھر سوں کہہ
 پھر مدینہ میں نبی سرور کو کہہ

مستقم

تشنہ لبِ رن میں کیوں آلِ پیہر ہوتے
حاضر اس وقت اگر اُن ساتی کوثر ہوتے

معصوم

آیا دل محکم سب جا عزا ہوتا ہے
ارض و سما بمانم نیلی قبا ہوتا ہے

شہید

سواہی آج ہے شہ کی دیکھو یاراں محکم سوں
چلے ہیں آہِ مظلوموں بہت دکھ درد ماتم سوں

اکبر

ہے ہائے قاسم ہے ہائے قاسم
مارے تھے کیوں ہے ہائے قاسم

صفی

اما ہے شہر ماتم کا رچا ہے بیاہ قاسم کا
شہ سلطان عالم کا رچا ہے بیاہ قاسم کا

As it has all along been a popular belief of Muslims ever since the great tragedy at Karbala took place that lamenting the martyrdom of Husain and his followers is conducive to purification of soul, the marsiyas purposely contained lamentations and briefly narrated the bare facts of the tragedy in simple and pathetic words to move the heart of the hearer. We can see from the instances just quoted that some of them cannot be called a piece of literature but expression of grief tinged with religious feelings. They are devoid of linguistic or rhetoric beauties. They are plain, natural, and moving like the pleading of a child. It was perhaps on this basis that people used to say in those days *بگڑا شاعر مرثیہ گو* (an unsuccessful poet becomes a marsiya-writer). No doubt the marsiya

devoid of all poetic and rhetoric beauties could easily be composed even by a novice. Uzlat عزلت was the first poet to draw the attention of the composers of marsiya to this point which was endorsed by other poets also.

عزلت

ہام مضمون مرثیہ کہنے سوں چپ رہنا بہلا

پختہ درد آمیز عزلت نہ توں احوالات بول

Shah Quli Khan Shahi was probably the first man who introduced marsiya in Northern India. He held a high position in the court of Abul Hasan Tana Shah, the last king of Golkunda. After the overthrow of the said kingdom, he was brought and received with great honour by the people of Delhi in 1687 probably. He was very much respected and was regarded as one of the distinguished poets of his age. His compositions induced the Delhi poets and Burhanuddin Asmi appeared on the dais of marsiya-writers. He was one of the first poets from amongst the Dehalvis who composed marsiya—his son Mir Amani was the second to follow him. Mir Amani wrote very pathetic marsiyas. It is said that while he was once reciting his marsiya in a majlis, he was so much impressed with the pathos of his own composition that his voice choked all of a sudden. The audience waited for a minute or two under the impression that he was perhaps making a selection of suitable stanzas to recite, but getting impatient they went up to him and discovered to their utmost surprise and dismay, that excessive shock had stopped the action of his heart and he was no more. Maulana Fazli wrote *دہ مجلس* in the time of Mohammad Shah in 1728 in Prose. Wali of Deccan sang the martyrdom of Husain and his followers in the form of Masnavi. It should be noted that the marsiyas up till now were written either in *مربع* or *مسلسل* like masnavi. But Haider

Shah Haider adopted the form of *مسدس* for marsiyas. He was contemporary of Wali and flourished in the time of Aurangzeb and Mohammad Shah. Some critics have given this credit to Sikandar and others to Sauda. Mir Mohammad Taqi *alias* Mir Uhasita and many other marsiya-writers followed him. Mian Miskeen gained world-wide fame in this branch of poetry. Mir Taqi Mir and Sauda then appeared on the exalted place of marsiya-writers. Sauda composed very pathetic marsiyas, and won great distinction in this form of poetry which had gained popularity by that time. The Marsiyas of Sauda in particular and his contemporary poets in general show a distinct improvement on those written prior to their appearing on the stage. Sauda's marsiyas are elegantly worded and profoundly pathetic. He composed them almost in all the forms including *مسدس* and selected suitable metres for them. Some instances of marsiyas composed in Northern India are given below :—

—
شاہ قلی خان شاہی

ہائے غربت یتیم نمائے عابد تیری زاری ہے
باپ کا مرنا دکھ کا بھرنا تس پر یوں بیماری ہے
تیغ کھڑی لے دشمن سر پر واویلا دکھ بیماری ہے
درد مصیبت عابد تم پر آج کے دن بسباری ہے

جبریل کہیں بتلاؤ مجھکو نام ہے کیا اس وادی کا
سنا جب کربل یہی ہے مقتل حسین علی سے ہادی کا
کہا بہشت سے پیام لیا یا عابد تیری دادی کا
کتھن گھڑی ہو پوتے میرے تجھپر کیاسنگساری ہے

—
مرزا ابوالقاسم مرزا

کہوں دکھ درد اصغر کا اور درد چشم سرور کا
شہ غازی کے جوہر کا کرو زاری مسلمانان

عزیزان دل ہوا پر خون یو سن اصغر کے ماتم کون
 کئے معصوم شہادت سون کرو زاری مسلمانان
 حسین اصغر کون منگائے ان کے تیرے تو بسلانے
 بزان لشکر کئے لائے کرو زاری مسلمانان
 جبتان پر هانك تب مارے کھے اے سنگہ دلان سارے
 برائی میں نہ تم ہمارے کرو زاری مسلمانان

ہوئی جب تشنگی غالب امام انس و جان پر
 خبر یو سن کے پانی نے آپس میں پیچ کھایا ہے
 شہیداں کا لہو پر یا جب کرجلاتے مینائے
 فلک تعظیم سون اس کو شفق کرنے اچایا ہے
 ہوا تن سے جدا جب سر شہنشاہ دو عالم کا
 گگن سر کلت سورج کا شفق کے لہو میں بہایا ہے

محنت قبل کی رات ہے اہل حرم پر گھات ہے
 دل چور اس غم سات ہے تیرے فراقوں یا حسین
 یوں رات جگ غمناک ہے عالم ہو سب دیتاک ہے
 پر خون جگر دل چاک ہے تیرے فراقوں یا حسین

ولی

(a) غوغا ہوا جہاں میں شہ کے وصال کا
 سینے منے پڑا ہے چھلا اس ملال کا
 محتاج ہیں جہاں کے صحبان تمام مل
 دیدار چاہتے ہیں مبارک جمال کا
 جو کوئی کرے زبان سون ادتو کا ورد مدام
 ہے یہ ولی خلاصے جواب و سوال کا

(b) اے ہادی سینسار تو کیوں جا بسایا کربلا
 اے واقف اسرار تو کیوں جا بسایا کربلا

اے نور چشم مصطفیٰ فرزند شاہ مرتضیٰ
 اے دلبر خیرالنسا تو کیوں جا بسایا کربلا
 تو دوستان کا جان ہے تیرا ذکر ایمان ہے
 تجھے پہر ولی قربان ہے کیوں جا بسایا کربلا

(e) اوس نور مصطفیٰ پہر بولو سلام یاراں
 محبوب مرتضیٰ پہر بولو سلام یاراں
 اوس ہنک ہارسا پہر حیدر کے دلربا پہر
 اوس لعل بے بہا پہر بولو سلام یاراں
 یو جی ولی فدا کر اوس شاہ کربلا پہر
 اوس لائق ثنا پہر بولو سلام یاراں

مرزا رفیع السودا—سودا

اے امام زمان واویلا سید دو جہان واویلا
 آج تجھے یادگار حیدر کا نہیں جگ میں نشان واویلا
 رن میں بے سر پہڑا ہے تیرا تن شہ کون و مکان واویلا
 نازک اندام پر ترے رن میں زخم تیغ و سنان واویلا
 جو کہ گذرا ہے تجھے جو رستم کیا کروں میں بیان واویلا

 ختم تو کر کے مرثیہ سودا یہی کہہ ہر زمان واویلا

(a) بدن میں زخم ستم رن میں جب اُٹھائے حسین
 گہرے بیوٹے زمیں پشت زیں سے ہائے حسین
 اُٹھا کے سر یہ کہا تب کہ اے خدائے حسین
 جو کچھ کہ تیری رضا ہو سو ہے رضائے حسین

چنانچہ یوں ہے روایت کہ بعد قتل امام
 دیا یہ نعش کو روح الامیں نے آئے پیام
 کہا ہے حق نے بہ سو گند تجھ کو بعد سلام
 جو کچھ حسین کہے دنوں میں خوں بہائے حسین

بحق شاہ شہیدیں ذبح تیغ ستم
 الہی غم نہ ہو سودا کو چھٹ حسین کے غم
 نہہروے چشم بھی اسکی بجز محرم دم
 جو بعد مرگ ہو مدفن تو کربلائے حسین

(b) آج وہ دن ہے کہ سب اعدا جہاں روتے ہیں
 جتنے ہیں زیر فلک پیر و جوان روتے ہیں
 خاک میں مور جہاں دیکھو تو وہ روتے ہیں
 مرغ ہو کر بجہاں بال فشاں روتے ہیں

اولیائوں میں حواس اور نہ یتیموں میں ہوش
 طاقتِ نالہ نہ ان کو نہ انہیں تاب و خروش
 سر نگوں گرد محمد کے بہم دوش بدوش
 چپکے بیٹھے ہوئے سب خرد و کلاں روتے ہیں

غش سے حوریں تووے بیٹھیں ہیں دیوار کو پشت
 سینے کو اپنے ملک کوٹتے ہیں باندہ کے پشت
 اور روح الامین افسوس کے مارے انگشت
 شمع کی طرح لگا کر بہ دھل روتے ہیں

(c) یارو سنو تو خالق اکبر کے واسطے
 انصاف سے جواب دو حیدر کے واسطے
 وہ بوسہ گہ بنی تھی پیمبر کے واسطے
 یا ظالموں کی برش خنجر کے واسطے

وہ تازگی کو روح نبی کی ہوا تھا خلق
 یا اسلئے کہ ذبح کریں اسکو تشنہ خلق
 جس سینہ پر مگس ہو تو ہو فاطمہ کو قلق
 واں بیٹھے شمر کاٹنے کو سر کے واسطے

(مسدس)

(a) اُس لعین نے کیا دیکھے کے عابد کو خطاب
 کیوں ترا باپ لڑا گر نہ تھی لڑنے کی تاب
 ردّ بیعت سے مرے گھر کو کیا اپنے خراب
 آپ تو جی سے گیا تجھ پہ یہ ڈالا ہے عذاب
 ہے گلے طوق ترے ہاؤں میں تیرے زنجیر
 دیکھتے ہیں تجھے اس حال سے برناؤ و پیر
 سنتے ہی اس کو وہ سرور یہ زباں پر لایا
 کیا ہوا گردش دوراں سے جو میں دکھ پایا
 جو کیا باپ نے میرے وہ خدا کو بھایا
 مفت اپنا تو جہنم میں مکاں بنوایا
 راہ میں حق کے مرے باپ نے باندھی تھی کمر
 گو کہ کاٹا گیا اس راہ میں اب اس کا سر

(b) کس سے اے چرخ کہوں جاے نری بیدادی
 ہانڈھ سے کون نہیں آج ترے فریادی
 جو ہے دنیا میں سو کہتا ہے مجھے ایذا دی
 یں تلک پہونچی ہے ملعون تری جلادی
 کوئی فرزند علی پر یہ ستم کرتا ہے
 کیوں مکافات سے اس کے تو نہیں کرتا ہے
 یہ وہ فرزند علی تھا کہ جسے صبح و شام
 آئے روح الامیں کرتا تھا مدینے میں سلام
 اور کہتے تھے سبھی خرد و کلاں ملے تمام
 جن و انس و ملک و حور کا بیشک ہے امام
 اس کو کرجل میں کیا ذبح پیاسا ہیہات
 کیا دکھایگا محمد کو تو اب روید ذات

(To be continued)

AŚOKA NOTES

BY PROF. K. A. NILKANTA SASTRI

I

Virutha

The first point I wish to discuss here is the import of the enigmatic sentence towards the end of the First Minor Rock Edict which in its fullest form as it occurs in the Sahasram version reads :

*iyam cha sarane viruthena dure sapamñā lāti satā
viruthū ti* 200 50 6 (Hultzsch, CII. i. p. 230),

The difficulty of the sentence would be clearly seen if some of the different ways in which it has been translated are set side by side :

- (1) 'It is by the missionary that this teaching is spread abroad. Two hundred and fifty-six men have been sent forth on missions, 256.' (Stuart, tr. I.I. xx. p. 165)
- (2) 'And this message has been caused to be proclaimed 256 times by the king on tour.' (R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka* p. 113. following Brahmagiri version.)
- (3) 'And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour. Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour—(in figures) 256.' (Hultzsch, CII. i. p. 171)
- (4) 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' (*ibid.* Corrigenda).

I think we may now pass by all interpretations of this sentence which omit to take account of the word *lāti* (night) to which attention was first drawn by F. W. Thomas in 1910.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has indeed questioned the validity of the interpretation of Thomas (*IA*. 1912 pp. 171—3). This led V. A. Smith to abandon Thomas' explanation in the third edition of his *Aśoka* (p. 152) though he had accepted it in the second. Bhandarkar's main difficulty in accepting Thomas' view lies in the word *satā* after the figure 256 in the Rupnath text. Prof. Bhandarkar had to handle this vexed question without 'the good fortune', as he puts it, 'of knowing the views of these scholars (Thomas and Lévi) first hand.' But we should note that this difficulty was stated and faced by Thomas. He suggested, I think rightly, that the Sahasram version which gives the number both in words and figures shows the manner in which the superfluous *satā* of the Rupnath version arose.¹ Fleet offered another explanation² of it. Let us, however, accept for argument's sake that the Rupnath text does constitute a difficulty; what is Prof. Bhandarkar's solution? First, he goes back to the old analysis of Senart in which with some reservations he took *virutha* to mean 'missionary' or 'messenger,' and, conformably to it, accepted Oldenberg's suggestion that *satā* stood for *sattru*, 'living being, man'. (*IA*. xx p. 162); and secondly, he introduced the word *satā* into the sentence in Sahasram version on the score that it has been 'inadvertantly omitted' there. There is no need to discuss these details at any length, because Senart has himself given up his old views on *Virutha*³ and *satā*; he has accepted the interpretation of *virūsa* given by Thomas and Lévi, and their attribution of it to the king and not to his officials or messengers. He differs from them, however, in thinking that *lāti* stands not for 'night', but for *rati* as in Khālsi RE vii F; as his remarks on this matter are

¹ *JA*: 10, 15 (1910). p. 521.

² *JRAS* 1911, p. 1104, n. 2.

³ We may note incidentally that this cuts the ground on which Bhandarkar's suggestion of *Vigutha* at PE. vii M. rests.

brief and important in view of his eminent place in Aśoka studies, and as many Indian students may not have easy access to them, I may translate them here fully for convenient reference (*JA* : 11, 7, May-June, 1916 pp. 434-5) : 'For my part', says Senart, 'I do not mean in any manner, by the interpretation which I maintain for *prakram* and its derivatives, to drive an argument either against the sense attributed to *cirāsa* by Messrs. Thomas and Lévi, or the application, which is new and very ingenious, they make of it to the king. I should be more disposed in my turn to suggest a more direct confirmation of this. Let us recall the text of (Sahasram) : *dure sapamñā lātisatū riruthā* ti. After having, very correctly, cut off the numeral noun after *Pamñā*, Messrs. Thomas and Lévi understand *lāti* = *rātri*; the changes of place by Aśoka would be counted by nights, not by days. Surely, this manner of counting is not, in itself, inadmissible. All the same, in this particular application, it does not fail to excite some surprise. In the VIII Rock-Edict *piyadasī* makes a reference to these 'goings out' or 'rides' which we cannot fail to recall here. There he opposes to the 'pleasure rides' (*rihāra yātrī*), hunts, etc., dear to his predecessors, the *dharma-yātrās* which he devotes to pious objects—alms, preachings, inspections; he concludes : *esū bhuya rati bharati deranampiyasa* : 'Such is (since his conversion) the repeated *rati* (pleasure) of the king dear to the devas'. At Khalsi : *ese bhuye lāti hoti derānampiyasa*. For this use of *rati* we may compare *Dhamm.* v. 64; *Sabbam ratim dhammarati Jināti*. The long *ā* of Khalsi has no etymological justification. Has it been favoured by the equivalent *abhilāme* employed at Dhauli and Jaugada? One thing is sure, viz., that it is attested by the facsimiles. Nothing astonishing that this mode of writing, though faulty, should be found again at (Sahasram) ⁴ *Lāti*, (*sic*)

⁴ Si. for S. here is an obvious misprint in *JA* p. 435, F. 13

rati where it would be the curtailed form of *ratiyātrū* or *rativivāsa*; the allusion would relate these changes of place to the king with decisive precision.' I do not find it easy to accept Senart's view, and think that *lāti*=*rāti* (night) is much more probable in the context. The nature of the '*vivāsa*' (living apart) of Aśoka has been much discussed. A religious tour of the duration of 256 days, as many nights spent in prayer, living apart giving up other avocations and observing *brahmacarya* (celibacy), the life of a wandering bhikṣu for one year excluding the rainy season (*vassa*) of three months to be spent in a fixed abode—these are the principal ideas put forward. Sylvain Lévi argued that 256 days constitute 17 fortnights in a year of 360 days of which 18 fortnights (nine months) were the period during which monks had to be on the move; in his zealous exertion (*prākrama*) Aśoka had led the life of a monk performing *Cārīka* and wanted to proclaim the fact before the close of his '*wanderjahr*' and address an exhortation to the people asking them to interest themselves in the cause of *Dhamma*.⁵ Fleet maintained to the end that the Minor Rock Edict was issued by Aśoka towards the close of his life and after he had laid down the imperial office and assumed the robes of a monk; he criticised Lévi's view of the 256 nights briefly summarised above on the score that no calendar known to be in actual use in the Mauryan period corresponds to the year of 24 fortnights assumed by Lévi as the basis of his argument; and he ingeniously reconciled the new interpretation of Thomas with the old view that the number referred to the years that had elapsed from the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, and said: 'The address was delivered by the royal recluse to members of the order gathered round him in quiet on the 256th night of his withdrawal from the world, because, by living through that night, he was completing in his retirement one day

⁵ JA: 10, 7 (1911), Jan.—Feb. pp. 120-21.

for each complete year that had elapsed since the death of the founder of the faith the permanence of which he sought to ensure.⁶ But this neat and fascinating explanation of the number 256 is not tenable in the face of the opinion now almost universally held, and for good reason,⁷ that the Edict takes a place, not among the last, but the earliest inscriptions of the reign; in fact it preceded the Rock and the Pillar series of edicts. There seems to be no way of accounting for 256 along the line followed by Fleet, even if we substitute the *nirvāṇa* for the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha as the basis of reckoning; for the Buddha is said to have enjoyed a long ministry of forty to forty-five years between his *nirvāṇa* and *parinirvāṇa*, and 256 years after the *nirvāṇa* might barely bring us to Aśoka's reign which began 214 years after the *parinirvāṇa* or not even that if we accept the longer ministry.

It seems to me that, in spite of the objections of Fleet based on the difference of a few days, the explanation advanced by Sylvain Lévi is the best way of accounting for the number 256. This period of 256 days should be taken to have been included in the year and more during which he had visited the *saṃgha* and been very zealous (*sātīleke tu charachare ya sumi hokkam saṃgha upete baddhi ca pakate*---Rupmath). That Aśoka meant to say that he spent so many nights in prayers appears to me inadequate and improbable; the choice lies between the life of a wandering mendicant monk for a whole *cārīka* season as Lévi has suggested, or more simply, the life of a religious recluse separated from family and cut off from worldly business for the same period followed by a return to normal secular avocations at the end of it. Perhaps those two senses need not be treated as mutually exclusive, and it may be assumed that besides a life of *brahmacarya* and

⁶ *JRAS*: 1910, p. 1308.

⁷ Hultzsch, p. xlv.

temporary abstraction from worldly duties, Aśoka was also moving from place to place so far as this was practicable or necessary for the purpose he had in view which will become clear in the next note; it is not easy to assume that there were 256 changes of the place of sojourn or a continuous tour of 256 days.

It is perhaps worth noting here that words formed from the root *vi-ras* cannot all be treated as having precisely the same meaning; the general import of 'going out' or 'living apart' always being granted, its exact application may vary with the context. Thus (1) '*vicasatavāya*' may mean 'be sent on official tour' (MRE. Rupnath I.); for here the king is thinking of means of promoting among his subjects zeal for *dhamma*—one method is to write the edicts on pillars and the other is to send officials on tour within the area of their jurisdiction. I am unable to accept Lévi's suggestion (p. 121, *loc. cit.*) that Aśoka commended to all his subjects the life of a wandering monk as the ideal. (2) *Vicāsuyātha* in the edict on Saṃgha-bheda-Sarnath (I), and *vicāsūpayātha* in (J) of the same edict must be understood to mean respectively 'expel' and 'cause to expel.' In spite of the identical wording of Sarnath (I) and Rupanath (I.), the only notable difference being in the forms derived from *vi-ras*, I am unable to accept Hultzsch's view (corrigenda to (II.)) that in both these records we must understand the words in the same sense of expelling Schismatic monks or nuns of whom there is, and can be, no talk yet in the Rupnath version of the Minor Rock Edict.

II

Was Aśoka a monk and monarch at the same time and for the whole of his reign after the events recorded in the opening sections of Minor Rock Edict? Very few will now be prepared to maintain the view of Fleet that

the edict is one of the last records of the king issued after his abdication and very near the end of his life. But in the reaction against Fleet's views, Vincent Smith clearly went a little too far and in this he has been followed by others.

Vincent Smith says: 'The fact is undoubted that Aśoka was both monk and monarch at the same time. The belief held by some learned writers that he had abdicated before he assumed the monastic robe is untenable, being opposed to the plain testimony of the edicts. We have seen that the earliest of them, unquestionably issued by Aśoka as sovereign, expressly states that at the time of issue (B.C. 257) he had been for more than a year exerting himself strenuously as a member of the Buddhist *Samgha*, or Order of Monks, the organized monastic Church, of which the sovereign had assumed the headship. Throughout his reign he retained the position of Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith. His latest proclamations, the Minor Pillar Edicts, issued at some time during the last ten years of the reign, exhibit him as actively engaged in protecting the Church against the dangers of schism and issuing his orders for the disciplinary punishment of schismatics. In the Bhābrū Edict, seemingly of early date, we find him describing himself as 'King of Magadha', and using his royal authority in order to recommend to his subjects seven favourite passages selected by himself from the sacred books. That edict was recorded on a boulder within the precincts of a monastery on the top of a hill in Rajputana, and the presumption is that the sovereign was residing in the monastery when he issued the orders, which are on record there only. A copy of the Minor Rock Edict I in which he gives a summary of his early religious history is engraved on a rock at the foot of another hill close by. The inscriptions give no support to the late legends which represent the

great emperor as a dotard in his old age, and suggest that he abdicated his sovereign functions. His authentic records shown him to have been the same man throughout his career from 257 to the end, a zealous Buddhist, and at the same time a watchful, vigorous, autocratic ruler of Church and State.' (*Aśoka*, pp. 35-36.)

Sir Charles Eliot, closely following Smith, goes even farther and asserts that Aśoka was more monk than monarch. He says: 'It may be objected that no one could be a monk and at the same time govern a great empire: it is more natural and more in accordance with Indian usage that towards the end of his life an aged king should abdicate and renounce the world. But Wu Ti, the Buddhist Emperor of China, retired to a monastery twice in the course of his long reign and the cloistered Emperors of Japan in the 11th and 12th centuries continued to direct the policy of their country, although they abdicated in name and set a child on the throne as titular ruler. The Buddhist church was not likely to criticize Aśoka's method of keeping his monastic vows and indeed it may be said that his activity was not so much that of a pious emperor as of an archbishop possessed of exceptional temporal power. He definitely renounced conquest and military ambitions and appears to have paid no attention to ordinary civil administration which he perhaps entrusted to Commissioners; he devoted himself to philanthropic and moral projects "for the welfare of man and beasts" such as lecturing his subjects on their duties towards all living creatures, governing the Church, building hospitals and stupas, supervising charities and despatching missions. In all his varied activity there is nothing unsuitable to an ecclesiastical statesman: in fact he is distinguished from most popes and prelates by his real indifference to secular aspirations and by the unusual facilities which he enjoyed for immediately putting his ideals

into practice." (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. 1, p. 265.)

Now the ideas underlying titles like Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith do not easily fit into the scheme of Indian religious thought and organisation, and while Smith at least concedes that the state claimed Asoka's attention in an equal measure with the Church, Eliot implies that the pursuit of philanthropic and moral projects left Asoka little time for the ordinary civil administration. Great as is the value of the inscriptions for our understanding of Asoka and his government, we should not lose hold of the fact 'that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character' (Hultzsch). In fact, they represent only one side, doubtless in some ways the most important side, but still only one side, of Asoka's administration and policy. He was actuated by a high moral purpose, and his edicts are calculated to stress this new purpose, lay bare its implications for the conduct of the officials of government and the people, and review the administrative innovations rendered necessary by it. They should on no account be treated as the complete history of the reign. But what is the evidence on which these far-reaching speculations on the nature of Asoka's rule are based? First, there are the words in the Minor Rock inscription which in the different versions read :

Rupnath : *hakam saṅgha upete*

Bairat : *mayā saṅgha (u)payāte*

Maski : *(s)agha(m) u(pu)gate*

Brahmagiri : *mayā saṅgha upayāte*

Siddhapura : *(mayā saṁ)gha upayāte*

Yerragudi : *mayā saṁgha upayāte*

The only other evidence for Asoka's renunciation is that of I-tsing who mentions an image of Asoka dressed in the robes of a Buddhist monk. This is explained below.

A—In the interpretation of the phrase cited above from the Minor RE, Bühler and Senart are the protagonists of rival views. Bühler has argued that this phrase should be taken to stand in contrast to the earlier statement about Aśoka having become an *upāsaka* (lay-worshipper) and must therefore imply a regular imitation as a monk, a *pabbajū*. Senart has objected that the expression *Samgham upa-i* is too vague to imply such a precise idea and not sanctioned by the technical terminology of Buddhism which must have become fixed very early in such a matter. He interpreted the expression in a more literal sense, and held that Aśoka paid a state visit to the *Samgha*. He also compared this visit mentioned in the edicts to the account given by the Ceylonese chronicles of the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 stupas at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the Saingha.' (Hultzsch, pp. xlv—xlv).

In commenting on the Maski edict, Senart reiterated his view that the situation of a king turning monk while retaining the life and prerogatives of royalty is incompatible with the idea we have of ancient monachism, and suggested that *saṃgham upagata* should be taken to signify some step implying adherence and deference to the *Samgha*, which might be repeated from time to time and was but the beginning of a close association which was to be habitual and long standing.* And this is very much to the point.

But I think it is not necessary to leave the matter so vague. The verb *upa-i* (*gam* has the same meaning as *i* and is used but once) has a number of meanings, but the one most suitable to our context seems to be 'to approach a teacher', 'become a pupil' (Monier-Williams). What Aśoka means to say in the whole passage at the beginning

* JA. 11.7 (1916) May-June, pp. 436-7.

of the MRE becomes very clear if we apply this meaning of *upa-i* to explain his relation to the *Samgha*; and as Senart has shrewdly remarked, the other meaning of *pranrajjā* (ordination) does not admit of degrees or differences in quality: a man either enters the order or he does not; but if he goes to some person or institution to learn, he may do it well or ill according to his inclination and interest. Here are the exact words of the text (Rupnāth):

(A) *Derānampīye heram āhā* (B) *Sātīrekāni adhati-yāni va(sāni) ya sumi prakāsa sake* (C) *no cu bādhi pakate* (D) *sātīleke tu charachare ya sumi hakaṃ saḡha upete bādhi cu pakate.*

which Hultsch translates: '(A) *Derānāmpriya* speaks thus (B) Two and a half years and somewhat more (have passed) since I am openly a Śākya (C) But (I had) not been very zealous. (D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Samgha* and have been very zealous'.

My present suggestion is that the visit to the *Samgha* was made definitely for the purpose of *Dharma-Śravaṇa*: Āśoka went as a pupil eager to learn. The *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 57ff.) says that soon after his conversion by *Nigrodha*, Āśoka heard from him that there were many learned *Arahats* in the *Samgha* and said at once: "I desire to meet with that precious Assembly; I will pay my respect to all (Bhikṣus) who come to the Assembly; *I will listen to the Dhamma.*" In the first revulsion from war and its atrocities seen in the conquest of Kāliṅga, Āśoka proclaimed himself a Buddhist (*prakāsa saka*); but then he did little more, and things went on as before for over a year—a very natural and common human situation; Āśoka then pulled himself up from sinking into lassitude, and took steps actively to secure his own moral advancement and those of his people; and he himself explains the nature of

these steps elsewhere, and says that after the conquest of Kalinga, he devoted himself to *tive dhammavaye dhamma-kāmatā dhammānuṣaṭhi cū* (Kalsi RE XIII C) i.e., zealous study of morality, the love of morality, and the instruction of people in morality. And where should Asoka get the aid he needed in the study of *dhamma* better than from the members of the *Samgha*? So that Asoka going to the *Samgha* should be contrasted, not with his having been an *upāsaka* (lay worshipper) as Bühler suggested, but with his earlier lack of zeal, his failure to further by active steps the cause he had openly embraced after the conquest of Kalinga.

It is possible that the *vicāsa* discussed in the last note began with the approach to the *Samgha* for hearing *Dhamma*, that the period of 256 days mentioned at the end of the edict has reference to the period spent in the first instance in the study of *Dhamma* as a zealous pupil of the *Samgha*. Prof. R. K. Mookerji⁹ holds that Aśoka's position is best described as that of a *bhikkhugatika*, intermediate between an *upāsaka* and *bhikkhu* and that he might have chosen to don the robes of a monk during his temporary visits to the *Samgha*. We may accept the second suggestion of Prof. Mookerji as a plausible explanation of the image of Aśoka in monastic robes seen by I-tsing centuries later; but there is no ground for ascribing the status of *bhikkhugatika* to Aśoka; for there is nothing either in the inscriptions or in tradition that can be taken to support such a view. In the inscriptions we have nothing but the phrase *saṃgham upete* and tradition is clear that he was only an *upāsaka*, though a very devoted one, to the very end.

The parallel cases of the Chinese emperor Wu-ti cited by Smith and Eliot and that of Amoghavarṣa, the Jaina

monarch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line, rest on explicit evidence, and afford no help in elucidating the position of Aśoka. Those monarchs renounced and resumed civil life by turns. Smith indeed argues that 'Aśoka could have done the same,'¹⁰ but that would be different from the case he has sought to establish, *viz.*, 'that both, Aśoka and Wu-ti succeeded somehow in combining the duties of monk and monarch.'¹¹

B—The argument has been advanced that Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇis often figure as donors in inscriptions, and that consequently ordination was no bar to the pursuit of secular avocations, the ownership of property, the exercise of power, and so on. But this is a misreading of the evidence; the mention of the names of monks and nuns as donors simply means that they were instrumental in the collection of small donations that were accumulated and then used up in the manner indicated. The rules of the Order regarding individual ownership of property were rather strict (*SBE* xiii, pp. 26 and 235), and we have no reason to assume lightly that they were usually disregarded. It is too much to believe that Aśoka was a monk when he spoke of his women and fixed the menu of his court as he does in his inscriptions.

Neither the Calcutta-Bairat (Bhābhṛū) inscription nor the edict regarding *saṃghabheda* can be cited to justify the view so alien to all known Indian thought and tradition that Aśoka made himself Head of the Church. A church in the strict sense of the term, organised on hierarchical lines, is altogether unknown to any of the Indian religious sects; the use of the term church to describe the *Samgha* can be justified only as a vague and loose designation for the order, which comprised an infinite number of independent *vihāras* which indeed owned a common allegiance to

¹⁰ *Aśoka*, p. 38.

¹¹ *Ib.* p. 37.

the Buddha and the *Dhamma* and the *Samgha*, but regulated themselves each according to their own views of the *Dharma* and *Vinaya*. The Bhābhṛū edict does not necessarily mean either that Aśoka used his royal authority to recommend to his subjects the seven passages of sacred scripture cited in it or that Aśoka lived at the time as a monk in the monastery near which the edict was engraved. This unique edict is in the form of a letter from the king addressed to the *Samgha*, and for aught we know, it might well have been a circular letter addressed to all the important monasteries in the empire; it might have been engraved at *Bairat* not so much by the initiative of the king as by that of the head of the particular monastery, and far from asserting royal authority, the letter is couched in the most respectful terms and ends with the statement: 'I desire, sir, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them). In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act). For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written (*viz.*) in order that they may know my intention'. This edict is no more than a record of opinion on the part of the emperor made at the conclusion of his *dharma-śruti* in which he commends to the clergy and the laity seven passages in scripture that have made the greatest impression on his mind, the frequent exposition and meditation of which, he thinks, would be most conducive to the promotion of *Dharma*. Surely this expression of opinion on the part of the great king after so much study and reflection on his part must have been received with all the deference it merited; but we can hardly consider this as an instance of the use of royal authority, for so sensitive a ruler as Aśoka could not have imagined that enforced preaching and meditation would lead to any good.

In fact the Bhābhṛū edict may be taken to provide a

peep into one side of Asoka's plans for the propagation of *Dharma* within his realms of which we might have known nothing otherwise. He wanted to secure the constant and active co-operation of the *Samgha* in his effort to promote *Dharma* among the people; in his other edicts we see how he employed his official staff for this purpose; this edict shows the lines on which he thought the members of the *Samgha* could best assist in this great and good enterprise.

To turn now to the other edict regarding *Samgha-bheda*. With greater justification we can speak here of the exercise of royal authority, for the edict in plain terms orders the officials of the civil administration to see that within their respective jurisdictions all schismatic monks are expelled from the *Samgha*, compelled to wear white robes, and to live in places not suited for the residence of monks. But once more, the talk of Asoka taking this step as Head of the Buddhist Church appears to me to be misplaced. The late N. G. Mazumdar has discussed this inscription with great acumen in the *Monuments of Sūnchī*, bringing together all the literary evidence available on the Third Council held in Asoka's reign and correlating them with this edict. Following tradition, he points out, rightly, that Asoka's liberality to the *Samgha* had led to abuses, and the *Samgha* ran real risk of being overrun by thousands of impostors and heretics who came crowding in for the sake of the income and the comforts which the emperor's liberality had caused to be provided for the members of the order. The best monks were shocked by the behaviour of these unruly elements, and withdrew from the regular monasteries to solitary spots in search of peace. Something had to be done to stop the rot, purge the *Samgha* of the intruders and restore its purity. The Third Council was held and the Schismatics expelled; but a rule had to be made, and vigilantly enforced to prevent

the recurrence of the evil. And this required the co-operation of the *Samgha* and the king. Majumdar is right when he says :¹² 'If promulgated by the *Samgha*, this order might have been easily flouted. It was, therefore, natural that the Saṅgha should approach the highest temporal authority for enforcing it on the fraternity.' But when he says further: 'In the three Edicts (Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī, Sāñchī—really three versions of one edict) Aśoka thus appears as a champion of Buddhism and Head of the Buddhist Church, bent upon preventing schism in the Order,' we are inclined to say: Champion of Buddhism, yes; Head of the Buddhist Church—by no means. For Aśoka would have enforced with equal alacrity similar resolutions of other bodies and groups, religious and secular, had they felt the need for invoking his aid against recalcitrant mischief-makers. It was the well-recognised duty of the Indian State in those days to keep the ring for the innumerable autonomous associations in the land to carry on their work along lines laid down by custom modified by their own regulations made from time to time to meet new contingencies as they arose. Majumdar himself points out that Aśoka honoured all sects and that they should uniformly prosper (RE. XII), and observes: 'This liberal spirit is quite in contrast with the rigid sectarian attitude revealed by the Edicts of Sāñchī, Sārnāth and Kauśāmbī.' The contrast imagined is altogether illusory and arises only out of his unwarranted assumption that Aśoka acted as Head of the Buddhist Church, while he was only doing his duty as king.

That Aśoka did not take orders soon after his acceptance of the Buddhist faith may be seen from a statement attributed to him in the *Mahāvaṃśa*, that is, if we may believe that the chronicle, in spite of the long period that separates its composition from the age of Aśoka, may

¹² *Monuments of Sāñchī*, i. p. 286.

still be accepted as representing the correct tradition on the matter. There were exchanges of embassies between the Ceylonese ruler Devānāmpiyatissa and Aśoka. The first mission was sent from Ceylon soon after the accession of Devānāmpiyatissa, and it returned after an honoured stay of five months in the Mauryan capital together with a return embassy from Aśoka. Aśoka's envoys brought with them not only valuable presents to be used in a fresh consecration of Devānāmpiyatissa, but they brought also 'the gift of the true doctrine' in the form of a message from Aśoka, saying: 'I have taken refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, I have declared myself a lay-disciple in the religion of the Śākya son; seek then even thou, O best of men, converting thy mind with believing heart, refuge in these best of gems.'¹³ This was in the seventeenth or eighteenth year after Aśoka's *abhiṣeka*; and the reference to the gift of the true doctrine cannot fail to remind one of the praise of *dhamma-dāna* as the best of all gifts in Aśoka's edicts, just as the terms of the message recall Aśoka's profession of faith in the *tri-ratna* in the Bhābhṛū edict; and his description of himself as a lay-disciple tallies with the statement in the Minor Rock Edict that he became 'an open Sake, (*pakūsa Sake*) according to the Rūpnāth version, or *upāsake* in Sahasram and Mysore versions,—coincidences which go far to set at rest all doubt about the authenticity of the *Mahāvamsa* tradition. If Aśoka was only a lay disciple in the seventeenth year after his *abhiṣeka*, surely he did not become a monk soon after his conversion, and the phrase *Samgham upa-ī* cannot be so interpreted.

I-tsing's mention of an image of Aśoka in monastic robes calls for an adequate explanation. This may be found in one of the two ways. First, Aśoka may be taken

¹³ *MI*. xi, 27—36.

to have worn monastic robes whenever he went to the *Samgha* for listening to the expositions of *Dhamma*, an act of courtesy to the members of the order from whom he got so much good instruction, and the image might have commemorated this. Or, secondly, Aśoka may have turned monk towards the end of his life after laying down the burden of imperial administration. And this supposition is supported by a little known passage in the *Diryāradāna* which occurs in the *Aśokacarṇāradāna*. It takes the form of a prophecy by the Buddha regarding the future births of a bull. After several divine existences, the bull would be born as a *cakravartī*, Aśokavarṇa by name. He will rule the entire earth in a *dhūrmic* way and at the close of his life he will make many gifts, lay down the tasks of administration, renounce the world and take holy orders, and in due course become a *pratyekabuddha*. Here is the text: *rājā bhaviṣyaty Aśokavarṇo sapta-ratnasamanrūgataḥ . . . sa imāmera anutpādam adanḍe-mahāprithirīm akhilām akaṇṭakām anutpādam abanḍe-nāśastreṇa dharmena samayenābhinirjitya adhyacatsyati. So'pureṇa samvīyena dānāni dattrā cakravartirājyam apahūya keśaśmaśrūṇyaratūrya kaṣṭhāṇi rastrāṇi samyagera śraddhayā gūrādamugūrikām pracrajjya pratyekam bodhim sākṣāt karisyaty Aśokavarṇo nāma pratyekabuddho bhaviṣyati.*

III

Next I turn to the story of Kuṇāla and Tiṣṇarakṣitā which is considered by Keith to be the gem of the *Diryādāna*. The outline of the story is well known; the charming youth Kuṇāla, so called for the particular beauty of his eyes, rejects with firmness and scorn, the illicit advances of his step-mother, who contrives, during Kuṇāla's absence at Taxila, to forge a letter in Aśoka's name ordering the blinding of Kuṇāla as the king had found

him guilty of reprehensible conduct towards him; the sentence is carried out, the blinded Kuṇāla wanders as a minstrel in the company of his wife, till he reaches Pātali-putra, is sent for by Aśoka who recognises his voice and learns from him the truth. Kuṇāla then recovers his sight by a miracle, and Aśoka burns Tiṣyarakṣitā alive disregarding the pleadings of Kuṇāla on her behalf.

The literary power that marks the narration of this story in the *Aradāna* and in later works, Kṣemendra's *Aradānakalpalutā* for instance, is undeniable; and it makes a wide popular appeal in the telling of it and on the screen. But is it history? I think that only the names of Kuṇāla and Aśoka are historical, and all the rest of it legend. I reach this conclusion because the whole story turns upon a *motif* familiar in folklore, the vengeance of women whose love is scorned. See *Jātaka* 472, and Rouse's tr. IV, p. 117 n.3. Edmund Hardy, *King Aśoka*, pp. 66-7 also has a critique of the Kuṇāla story. And the suspicion roused by this fact becomes a certainty when we consider the name of the queen. Let me explain.

Not many words are necessary to support the first part of this argument. The reader may be referred to Penzer's valuable note on 'Women whose love is scorned' (*Ocean of Story*, Vol. 2, pp. 120—124) where several instances of the *motif* are cited and discussed, and the conclusion is reached: 'Thus we see that, in order for a story to be classified under the heading of this *motif*, the woman must make the suggestion, be repulsed, and seek revenge. This is the natural sequence of events which has proved so popular in every part of the East, whence it has travelled slowly westward.' The *Diryāculāna* which is among the earliest records of this story may be taken to date from the second century A.D., some five to six cen-

turies after the time of Aśoka to which it relates; even so it happens to count among the earliest specimens of this *motif* as can be seen from Mr. Penzer's instances. But the distance of time that separates the narrative from the time of its supposed original occurrence is doubtless a real obstacle in the way of the story being accepted for fact.

The name *Tiṣyarakṣitā* means literally 'A woman protected by (the asterism) *Tiṣya*.' Now, as is well known, there is a certain emphasis laid on this *nakṣatra* in the edicts of Aśoka, and Fleet who drew attention to it, held that Aśoka's coronation took place on a *Tiṣya* day. He said: 'The fifth pillar-edict directed that on the full-moon day when the moon would be in *Tiṣya* (the full moon of *Pauṣa*), fish were not to be either killed or sold, animals found in elephant-preserves and in the fishermen's reserves were not to be killed, bulls and certain other animals were not to be castrated, and horses and oxen were not to be branded. The first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa directed that that proclamation should be read under each *Tiṣya nakṣatra*, and on any suitable occasions—during the intervals. And the second separate edicts at the same places ordered the reading of that proclamation on each occurrence of *Tiṣya* during the *cāturmāsya* period, and, at pleasure, on any suitable occasions meanwhile. In view of the point established by astrological and other works, that the conjunction of the moon with *Puṣya* (*Tiṣya*) was a specially auspicious one for the anointment of kings, we can hardly fail to recognise something very marked in these allusions to that constellation, otherwise not easily to be understood. in the edicts of Aśoka.¹⁴ Whether Aśoka was crowned on a *Tiṣya* day, or he was born on such a day, it is not unreasonable to think that

¹⁴ *JRAS.* 1909, p. 31.

Tiṣya in such a name as *Tiṣyarakṣitā* simply stands for *Aśoka*. So that the queen's name simply comes to mean 'protected by *Aśoka*' which is hardly a personal name, but just an almost transparent mask for a flagrant invention. It will be remembered that *Samghamitrā*, 'the woman-friend of the Order,' the name of *Aśoka*'s daughter by *Devi*, according to the Ceylonese books, has been likewise held by some to be an invention.

But though the tragic story of *Kuṇāla* and *Tiṣyarakṣitā* seems thus to melt into thin air at the slightest touch of criticism, *Kuṇāla* himself is a real person known to history whose existence is vouched for by the dynastic lists of the *Purāṇas*, though we know little of him besides his name and his relation to *Aśoka*.

IV

Aśoka and Ceylon.

The Ceylonese chronicles ascribe the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon to *Aśoka*'s son and daughter, *Mahendra* and *Samghamitrā*, whom he had allowed to join the *Samgha* in order that he might be hailed as kinsman of the Buddha's religion (*Sāunadāyāda* *MV.* V. 193—7). They also state that *Aśoka* and his contemporary in Ceylon, *Devānāmpiya Tissa*, were great friends though they had never met, and record two missions from Ceylon to *Pāṭaliputra*—one of which brought back as presents from *Aśoka* all the materials necessary for a royal consecration with which *Tissa* performed a second *abhiṣeka*, and the other fetched the *therī* *Samghamitrā* and a branch of the Bo-tree to Ceylon.

*V. A. Smith*¹⁵ is inclined to distrust the whole of this story. With *Oldenberg* he is sceptical about the tale of *Samghamitrā* the supposed daughter of *Aśoka*, because

¹⁵ *Aśoka*, pp. 44—50.

her name 'friend of the order' is a transparent invention. He thinks it much more likely that the conversion of Ceylon was a work of time, 'the fruit of long and continuous intercourse between Ceylon and the adjacent parts of India, rather than the sudden result of direct communication with Magadha.' And he accounts for the deliberate omission in the chronicles of all mention of Aśoka's missions to the Tamil countries by the hostility between the Sinhalese and Tamils in later times and by the desire of the Ceylonese monks to avoid any suggestion that Buddhism spread to Ceylon from the Tamil country. He says: 'The omission of the Tamil countries of Southern India may be ascribed to the secular hostility between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of the mainland, which naturally would indispose the oppressed Sinhalese to recognise the ancestors of their oppressors as having been brothers in the faith. The island monks were eager to establish the derivation of their religion direct from Magadha through the agency of Mahendra and his supposed sister, and had no desire to recall the by-gone days of friendly intercourse with the hated Tamils. Sound principles of historical criticism require that when the evidence of the inscriptions differs from that of later literary traditions, the epigraphic authority should be preferred without hesitation, and there is no reason to doubt the reality of the missions to the Tamil kingdoms of the south.'¹⁶

In this argument we may at once agree to two points put forward by Smith as quite probable—*viz.*, first, that Buddhism spread to Ceylon from South India and formed the natural sequel of the extension of the faith throughout India, and secondly, the hostile relations between the Sinhalese and the Tamils at a later time might have induced the authors of the chronicles to minimise and even suppress the rôle of South India in

¹⁶ *Aśoka*, p. 44-45.

this process. But is Smith justified in assuming a conflict between the inscriptions of Aśoka and the later literary tradition of Ceylon? The second Rock Edict on the provision of hospitals for men and animals, and the thirteenth in the section on religious missions sent by Aśoka to foreign lands contain the phrase *ā* (*aca* or *aram*) *Tambapamṇi*, which means 'up to Tambapamṇi.' Smith says that this phrase indicates that the river is meant, not Ceylon (p. 162). I do not see how Taprobane as the name of Ceylon was evidently known to Megasthenes and in Pali literature *Tambapamṇi* is used in no other sense. The suggestion has been made¹⁷ that *Ā Tambapamṇi* of RE II (Girnar) should be taken to stand for *Yā Tāmbraparṇi* and translated 'what is (known as) Tāmraparṇi'; but this is not correct in the face of the alternative forms *aca* or *acam Tambapamṇi* (cf. RE XIII), and we must Sanskritise the phrase as *ā* (*yācat*) *Tāmraparṇi*; but there is nothing here to indicate that a boundary like a river is meant. I am inclined to interpret the phrase as I have done above, as meaning 'up to and including Tambapamṇi, the island;' thus once more, tradition and epigraphy are seen to state the same facts in different ways. Smith has himself commented on Hinen Tsang's mention of a Mahendra monastery at Hadura, saying: 'This interesting passage which shows how vivid the traditions of Aśoka and his brother continued to be in the south after the lapse of nine centuries, and locates Mahendra in a monastery to the south of the Kāverī, within easy reach of Ceylon, goes a long way to support the hypothesis that Mahendra really passed over to the island from a southern part on the mainland.'¹⁸

¹⁷ R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 132.

¹⁸ Smith, *Aśoka*, pp. 49-50.

DHARMOPANIṢAD IN MAHABHARATA

BY DR. S. M. KATRE

In the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*¹ I. 1. 69 we have a reference to the compound expression *dharmopaniṣad* which has not been recorded so far in any Sanskrit lexicon, including the two great *Petersburg Dictionaries* or the *Nachträge* of Schmidt. The same expression occurs again in the interpolated passage 32' of the *Adiparvan*, but beyond this, on a first reading, I have not been able to trace any other reference to it. The verse in question reads as follows:

mātror abhyupapattiś ca dharmopaniṣadam prati

Dharmasya cūyoḥ śakrasya decayośca tath āśvinoḥ
(I. 1. 69).

Devabodha, the earliest known commentator on the Great Epic², has the following scholium on the above passage³ explaining it: *Mātroḥ Kuntī-Mādryoḥ dharmopaniṣadam dharmarahasyam prati abhyupapattiḥ sarvātmanā pravṛttiḥ; dharmopaniṣadsambandhino darsāyati: Dharmasya iti*. Devabodha disposes of the expression *dharmopaniṣad* by equating °-*upaniṣad* with its well-known synonym °-*rahasyam* which can be traced back to Upaniṣadic literature itself.⁴

Nīlakaṇṭha, the latest of the Mahābhārata commenta-

¹ *Adiparvan*, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., Poona, 1927-33, with the co-operation of several scholars.

² Sukthankar, *Epic Studies* I, "Notes on Mahābhārata commentators." *Annals BORI* 17. 155-202.

³ Edited by R. N. Bhandekar, Poona 1940, p. 9.

⁴ Jacob, *A Concordance of the Principal Upaniṣads and Bhagavadgītā*, p. 786 under *rahasya*.

tors, has the following gloss on this passage : *Mātror* iti; *ca-sabdo* hetau. *Yasmād dharmopaniṣadam prati-dharmaḥ* kulastrībhīr āpady apatyārthe viśiṣṭaḥ pumān prārthanīya ity-evamrūpo Vyāsa-Vasiṣṭhādibhyo'napatyavatsu Vicitravīrya-Kalmāṣapādādirājadāreṣu drṣṭaḥ, tasya santraksanārthā *upaniṣad* : Durvāsasā dattā vidyā tām (dharmopaniṣadam) āvartitām Dharmādīnām mātroh mātaran *prati abhyupapattih*. According to him, therefore, *dharmopaniṣad* indicates the *upaniṣad* or 'secret knowledge' given by the sage Durvāsas for the observance of (*āpady*) *dharmā* 'begetting of children through supermen or superior beings' under extraordinary circumstances incapacitating the lawful husbands from exercising their natural rights.

The context of the *Anukramaṇī adhyāya* is explained in Chapter 109 in the *Sambhara* subsection of the *Adiparvan*. Pāṇḍu goes out hunting once and observes a pair of deer in copulation and he strikes them with five razor-like arrows, wounding them mortally. Now it happens that this pair of deer in reality was a hermit couple who had assumed the form of deer in order to copulate. In human voice the male deer curses Pāṇḍu for his wicked deed, after an interesting conversation on the nature of the deed, in which several salient ethical points are discussed by the *Rṣiputra* and Pāṇḍu. This curse prevents Pāṇḍu from cohabiting with his wives, for such a copulation will bring about his own end, just as he brought the end of the deer in the very act of copulation. As a result of this curse Pāṇḍu leaves his kingdom for the forest where he is followed by his wives, and practises severe ascetic disciplines.

It is at this juncture that other ascetics advise him of the fate of childless parents which prevents them from reaching heaven. As a result of this discussion Pāṇḍu is overcome with dejection, remembering the curse of the

deer. So he calls Kuntī privately and explains his desire for progeny so that his austerities may not become fruitless. His appeal is couched in many fine dharmaśāstra arguments on the types of children, and in conclusion he says :

uttamād ararāḥ puṁsaḥ kāṅkṣante putram āpadi
(I. 111. 30^a.)

and recalling his own incapacity to beget children, requests her :

sadṛśāc chreyaso nā tram riddhy apatyam yaśasvini
(I. III. 32).

These appeals are backed by an interesting episode about the ethical aspect of this ancient *āpad-dharma* illustrated by the story of Vyūṣitāśva and Bhadrā, which Kuntī skilfully brings in, urging Pāṇdu to employ his superior Yoga power to generate children through her, just as the dead body of Vyūṣitāśva generated the three Śālvas and four Madras through Bhadrā. But Pāṇdu overrides these objections on the part of Kuntī, quoting the authority of Śvetaketu Auddālaki, and the ancient examples of Madayantī, wife of Saudāsa who obtained Aśmaka as a son through Vasiṣṭha, of the wife of Kalmāṣapāda and the wives of Vicitravīrya who followed through necessity this *āpad-dharma*. Kuntī apprises him of the boon given her by the sage Durvāsa while she was serving him in her father's house:

mantragrāmaṃ ca me prādād abrarīc caiva mām idam
(I. 113. 34^a).

yam yam deraṃ tram etena mantreṇācāhayisyasi
akāmo vā sakāmo vā sa te tuṣam upaiṣyati (I. 113.35)

and as a result she and Mādrī call upon the five gods mentioned in I. 1.69 and beget the five Pāṇḍavas.

Now with regard to this *Dharmopaniṣad* at I. 1.69 b, we observe the following variant: T₁ G₇ M (except M₁) *mantropaniṣad*, *dharma*—being substituted by the word

mantra— in order to agree with the *mantra-grāma* of I. 113.34 or the well-known episode of the boon of the *mantras* given to Kuntī by the sage Durvāsas, referred to by Nīlakaṇṭha in his gloss. But this Southern variant is borne out only by one Telugu, one Grantha and three Malayalam MSS. As opposed to this, in the interpolated passage 32* attested by D₁₀₋₁₁ T G₆ we have the following four lines:

*tāto dharmopaniṣadam bhūtrā bhartuḥ priyā Pṛthū
Dharm-Ānīl-Endrāms tābhiḥ sū-jukāra sutarāṇchayā
Taddattopaniṣān Mādri cĀśrinār ājukāra ca
Jātāḥ Pārthās tataḥ sarve Kuntyā Mādryūś ca
mantrataḥ*

with the variants D₁₀₋₁₁ T₂ *dharmopaniṣado dhṛtrā*, and G₆ *dharmopaniṣadam śrutrā*, and there is no variant for the third line. Thus the manuscript evidence is definitely in favour of *dharmā* in *Dharmopaniṣad*, including the scholia of Devabodha and Nīlakaṇṭha.

P. C. Roy's translation of this verse is as follows: "Their mothers, that the ordinances of the law might be fulfilled, admitted as substitutes to their embraces the gods Dharma, Vāyo, Śakra and the two Aśvins."

Mookerji's translation of the same passage reads as follows: "In the forest Kuntī and Mādri gave births (*sic*!) to the Pāṇḍavas in fulfilment of the ordinances of religion, their fathers being the five gods."

Roy would have *dharmā* as 'law' and Mookerji as 'religion' and *upaniṣad* as 'ordinance' in both cases, *abhyupapatti* as 'fulfilment.' It seems to me that these English translators have missed something of the inner purport of all the three words by attempting a general translation of the passage as a whole.

The base *abhy-upa-pad* has the root meaning of 'to approach' and when the context shows the object to be a

woman, it develops a technical significance of 'to approach for sexual intercourse' for begetting children as a religious duty. Thus, *abhyupapatti* means 'impregnation of a woman' and the literal translation of I. 1. 69 would be : 'The impregnation of the two mothers through Dharma, Vāyu, Śakra, and the two Aśvins by means of the secret *mantras* compelling (the gods to perform the particular duty).' *Dharma* stands for *Āpad-dharma* and *upaniṣad* for the *mantragrāma*. It is surprising that the true meaning of *abhyupapatti* in this context is recorded only in a lexicographical work.⁵

⁵ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (1895) s. v. *abhyupapatti*.

VIKRAMORVAŚĪYA—A STUDY

BY PROF. K. RAMA PISHAROTI

'Love, when it unites heaven and earth, transcends the limitations of time and space.'

From the point of view of chronology and literary merit the *Vikramorvaśīya*¹ ranks midway between *Mṛloikāgnimitra* and *Śākuntala*. The theme of the drama, the love between Purūravas and Urvaśī, is as old as the oldest strata of the Vedic literature.² In the course of its passage through the long vista of centuries, the story has undergone considerable modification and this has enabled the poet to reconstruct a dramatic version out of it without doing violence to the Puranic theme. He has successfully humanised the characters, enlivened it with wit and humour, introduced varied dramatic contrivances and lastly, added scenic attractions.³ Love between human and divine is always tragic in character, but the poet has lifted the tragic element out of the story and has made it an orthodox Indian drama. The course of love never runs smooth, but at the same time it never fails to attain the *summum bonum* of bliss and enjoyment, provided it is self-abnegating; and so the poet has depicted the love of Purūravas and Urvaśī as being characterised by mutual

¹ The references to the text are to the edition of *Vikramorvaśīya*, issued in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, No. xvi. The Roman figures refer to the acts, while the ordinary figures refer to the sections numbered in the edition.

² *Vide Appendix III* attached to the edition; *vide* also the writer's paper, *Vikramorvaśīya—A study of the Sources*, published in the Maharaja's College Magazine, Ernakulam, Vol. XXII, No. iii, pp. 206—212.

³ The subject is dealt with in Prof. Ryder's *Śākuntala*, published in the *Everyman's Series*.

sacrifice and surrender.⁴ The drama thus forms a thesis on love. An aspect of this is the theme of this paper.

The first act of the drama is composed of a *Sthāpana* or prologue and the main scene. The prominent sentiment of the act is given expression to towards the close of the prologue: it is the sentiment of fear and anxiety⁵ and it is carried over to the main scene, when the same words are repeated by the celestial damsels floating in the air.⁶ In striking contrast to this is the introduction of the king, riding in his own chariot through the aerial regions and announcing himself in strict royal dignity and reserve that he is king Purūravas ready to render help to the distressed.⁷ Anxiety and helplessness are here counter-balanced by valour and heroism—the former associated with the denizens of the air and the latter with a denizen of the earth—and the varied emotions are bridged over from the one to the other by the emotion of wonder. The king wonders that *Apsara* women should have cause for fear, being directly under the protection of Indra, and these are surprised that a mortal king should have come at the nick of time and volunteered help. Thus the opening of the drama presents a delicate emotion contrast which is happily enhanced by character contrast as well.

The main scene passes through three stages, the first running from the beginning till the exit of the king after the *Dānava*, the second till the entrance of Citraratha and the rest forming the third stage. The first of these is characterised by fear and anxiety, which are, however, toned down by wonder and the prospect of relief in the timely appearance of the king. In the next stage the king is glad that he has been able to save Urvaśī and is lost in

⁴ III—134, 140, etc.

⁵ I—8.

⁶ I—9.

⁷ I—10, 14 and 16.

admiration of the extraordinary loveliness⁸ of the woman he has been able to save, while the maid Citralekhā is still anxious that her mistress is not yet recovered from her swoon.⁹ As the scene proceeds, the sense of gladness, in the case of the king, recedes into the background and is replaced by love for Urvaśī¹⁰ and sorrow in the case of Citralekhā is replaced by gladness that her friend has completely recovered. As regards Urvaśī, the original fear and dread now give way to profound thankfulness and gratitude¹¹ towards the king which soon become metamorphosed into love.¹² And towards the close of the second stage, the main sentiment is one of thankfulness¹³ on the part of the nymphs that their friend is saved and that the king is unhurt, and they are therefore filled with respectful admiration for the gallant king, whom they bless with long life.¹⁴ Thus at the close of the second stage the emotions of the various parties undergo a specific change. At this stage, Indra's charioteer enters to convey to the king his master's appreciation of the gallant rescue effected by the king and to invite him to heaven.¹⁵ The element of honour contained in this invitation is equalled only by the modesty of the king, his respect and reverence.¹⁶ At the close of the Act the leave taking of the party is marked by the bringing into prominence again of the mutual love of Purūravas¹⁷ and Urvaśī,¹⁸ who go their different ways, casting longing looks at each other.¹⁹

⁸ I—28, 31 and 34.

⁹ I—28 and 34.

¹⁰ I—33.

¹¹ I—37 and 42.

¹² I—37, 94 and 95.

¹³ I—48 and 49.

¹⁴ I—61.

¹⁵ I—66.

¹⁶ I—67, 68 and 69.

¹⁷ I—78.

¹⁸ I—74, 75 and 76.

¹⁹ I—81 and 82.

Such is the emotion delineation in the first Act. The emotion of fear and distress, passing through wonder and gratitude into love-longing-for-union, in the case of Urvaśī, is artistically interwoven with the king's *Utsāha* which, passing through wonder and admiration, also becomes metamorphosed into love-longing-for-union; and this unfolding of mutual love is given an aerial setting,²⁰ not unworthy of the divine nymph and the semi-divine king.

The second Act elaborates the love-longing-for-union, and here the emotion contrast is replaced by emotion intensity. The interlude depicts the love-lorn condition of the king²¹ against the background of the foolishness²² of the Vidūṣaka, which is, however, balanced by the skill of the queen's maid.²³ The main scene can be divided as before into four sections: the first running from the opening of the scene till the arrival of Urvaśī, the second till Urvaśī manifests herself, the third till she makes her exit, and the last beginning with the arrival of the queen.

In the first section we have the king presented as pining for Urvaśī²⁴ and his love-pangs are relieved not by Vidūṣaka, but by a vague inkling of the coming union with his beloved, which keeps him hopeful.²⁵ Then Urvaśī is introduced as being completely overwhelmed by love-longing-for-union,²⁶ and she experiences a thrill of

²⁰ I—23. The stage direction there shows that they were till then floating in the air. *Vide* also stage direction after section 73. It is also clear from the description that the king was travelling in the air in his own car. The subject is dealt with in some detail in the writer's paper, *Kalidasa—The Dramatist*, published in the *Annamalai University Journal*.

²¹ II—1, also 9.

²² II—9.

²³ II—6, 8, 10 and 18.

²⁴ II—15, 35, 37 and 40.

²⁵ II—54.

²⁶ II—56, 57, 58 and 62.

gladness when she learns that the king is suffering equally for her sake.²⁷ It is a dramatic situation in which Urvaśī stands besides the king, unseen to him, listening to his tale of love-woe. She has now her doubts completely set at rest, if indeed she had any, regarding the depth and sincerity of the king's love, and naturally enough she becomes filled with ecstatic bliss. The intensity of king's love melts her heart, and she sends him a message of love on a *Bhūrjapatra*²⁸ and this gladdens the king's heart.²⁹ The mutual knowledge that love is reciprocated infuses new joy in both³⁰ and this attains full development, when Urvaśī manifests herself before the king.³¹ The couple experience the thrill of mutual vision and bodily contact,³² but, then with the rare restraint that is characteristic of the great poet, the new-found joy is not allowed to continue for long: for, a divine voice directs the presence of Urvaśī elsewhere,³³ and sadly she has to bid adieu to her lover.³⁴ The *Bhūrjapatra*, which has been the harbinger of joy and happiness, is sought after by the king as a source of relief,³⁵ but, thanks to the carelessness of Vidūṣaka, it could not be found.³⁶ Instead it has reached the queen³⁷ and has helped to introduce a further complication: the queen is convinced of the king's new amour, and a new emotion complex of anger and jealousy

²⁷ LI—83, 85 and 90.

²⁸ II—90.

²⁹ II—96 and 103.

³⁰ LI—103 and 107.

³¹ II—117.

³² II—120: the stage direction following.

³³ II—124.

³⁴ II—130.

³⁵ II—137.

³⁶ II—138.

³⁷ II—145 and 146.

³⁸ II—151.

is introduced.³⁹ The second Act, then, develops the love theme of the king: first the intensity of his passion is set forth, then his hopes and their partial fulfilment by letter, and last the bliss of happiness by the vision of Urvaśī and her confession of love. Then it is raised up to the highest pitch, but later converted into love-longing-for-reunion through the forced departure of Urvaśī, which is further complicated by the queen's knowledge of the king's love affair and the consequent broken domestic felicity.⁴⁰ The struggle between unfulfilled love with reference to Urvaśī and broken pride and wounded honour with reference to the queen⁴¹—the one as strong as the other and each struggling for mastery⁴²—such is the emotion complex presented towards the close of the Act.

The third Act has two main divisions—the Miśra-*viṣkambhaka* and the main scene. The former is an informative scene, describing how Urvaśī has been cursed⁴³ for failure in her duty by Bharata and how that curse has later been modified by Indra which enabled her to consort with Purūravas.⁴⁴ The main scene is given a handsome setting in the matter of time and space;⁴⁵ and there now meet the king, pining for Urvaśī⁴⁶ and the queen, haughty yet repentant and therefore desirous of appeasing the king.⁴⁷ There again the king has his first premonitions

³⁹ II—169-173.

⁴⁰ II—169—71 and 173.

⁴¹ II—143, 162 and 175.

⁴² II—175.

⁴³ III—10 and 12.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ A royal procession marching past and ascending the stairs leading from the banks of the Ganges, lit up below by torches and above by the rising moon presents an interesting picture and in a well-set stage it is bound to be very effective.

⁴⁶ III—33, 34, 35 and 36.

⁴⁷ III—15, 17 and 22.

of the coming union with Urvaśī,⁴⁸ which are utilised to introduce her as she floats through the air.⁴⁹ The entrance of the king, then of Urvaśī, and then of the queen followed by her exit—these mark certain well-defined stages in the progress of the scene. And throughout all these, except the very last, the predominant emotion is that of love-longing-for-reunion which has also an undercurrent of consideration for the queen in the case of Purūravas⁵⁰ and of jealousy for her in the case of Urvaśī.⁵¹ This undercurrent exhausts itself when the queen presents herself and permits the union of the king and Urvaśī.⁵² Consequently, the love-longing-for-reunion is again brought up to the forefront, and it attains consummation, when Urvaśī finally becomes united with the king.⁵³ As far as Urvaśī is concerned, she is first weighed with love-longing-for-union with an undercurrent of doubt, regarding the attitude of the queen⁵⁴ and the depth of king's love. These are allowed to exhaust themselves in the second and third stages of the Act. Urvaśī now knows definitely that the king is doting on her alone⁵⁵ and the nobility⁵⁶ of the queen's action not only reassures her but begets admiration in her.⁵⁷ This naturally fills her with unbounded joy.⁵⁸ Thus the hero and the heroine have their sidereal emotions completely removed and both alike are filled only with one emotion—the emotion of love-longing-for-reunion

⁴⁸ III—34—38.

⁴⁹ *Idē* the stage direction following 38.

⁵⁰ III—85, 90, 92 and 97.

⁵¹ III—82, 83, 91 and 92.

⁵² III—102, 103, 104, 106, 108 and 111.

⁵³ III—118, 122, 123 and 124.

⁵⁴ III—44, 45, 47 and 50.

⁵⁵ III—61, 62 and 64.

⁵⁶ III—103.

⁵⁷ III—104.

⁵⁸ III—116.

which has been ennobled on account of suffering.⁵⁹ As in the second Act, but unlike in the first Act, here the emotion delineation is in the direction of intensiveness, rather than complication. There are no contrasts, but the necessary effects are produced by bringing into contact different parties moved by similar emotions. Acts II and III are characterised by great delicacy of emotion delineation.

The first three Acts of the drama form the first part. In Act I the seeds of love are sown between the human and the divine through pity on the part of the former and gratitude on the part of the latter. The air is made the locus of action, as is befitting the nature of the heroine who is a denizen of the air and of the hero who is a semi-divine being. Act II describes the development of this love which has become all-engrossing. The nymph forgets her heavenly duties lost in her new-found love; the king forgets his wedded love: in other words, both forget *śimudācāra* in the intensity of their new-found love. Act III describes how the various complications which stand in the way of the consummation of their love are got over. Indra, out of gratitude for services rendered to him by the king, permits Urvaśī to consort with him for a period; and the queen, out of repentance for her haughty conduct, permits the king to consort with Urvaśī. Thus the human and the divine are brought together by gratitude on the part of Urvaśī's master⁶⁰ and repentance on the part of Purūravas' mistress.⁶¹ So far as Urvaśī is concerned, however, the enjoyment of their love is conditioned by her master; but such all-engrossing love, despite its innate tragic nature, cannot be evanescent: it must be made permanent. This is the theme of the next two Acts, which thus forms Part II of the drama.

⁵⁹ III—143.

⁶⁰ III—12.

⁶¹ III—22, 77, and 102.

Act IV is composed of two scenes, the interlude and the main scene. In the former, we are regaled to a conversation between Citralekhā and her nurse, which describes the calamity which has befallen Purūravas,⁶² and which also suggests the possibility of their reunion.⁶³ The new-found happiness of the couple is disturbed by a touch of jealousy,⁶⁴ as is always the case with such unnatural love, and, as fate would have it, Urvaśī becomes transformed into a creeper⁶⁵ and the king becomes steeped in intense misery.⁶⁶ The dramatist moralises that such must be end of such love⁶⁷—unnatural so far as the parties are concerned, unnatural in its intensity, and unnatural as far as the mode of enjoyment is concerned.⁶⁸ At the same time there is hope expressed of a reunion. This scene forms a happy contrast to the last stage of the last Act: here the *Sambhoga-śṛṅgāra* becomes transformed into genuine *Vipralambha*, idealised love-longing-for-reunion.⁶⁹

The main scene opens with the king himself who appears madness personified,⁷⁰ a madness which is the

⁶² IV—8-12.

⁶³ IV—13.

⁶⁴ IV—8.

⁶⁵ IV—10.

⁶⁶ IV—12.

⁶⁷ IV—11.

⁶⁸ IV—6 and 7.

⁶⁹ IV—13.

⁷⁰ Here one interesting point deserves to be noticed: the hero is in a demented condition and as such, words do not count, cannot be taken at their face value. Indeed nobody attaches much significance to the ravings of a mad man, even when his words are true and significant. Naturally enough we do not attach much importance to his words. Similarly, here we should not attach much importance to the words uttered by the king. Their value lies, as in the case of a mad man, in their suggestive sense: we have to take them as indicating the stage of his malady, that is the keenness of his love-woe. This is an important aspect of this scene. The investation of a love-mad man's incoherent utterances with significance and their presentation in an artistic form is the unique achievement of the art of the great dramatist.

necessary result of deep and intense sorrow. He roams about in the Gandhamādana forest in search of his beloved.⁷¹ He is convinced that Urvaśī cannot be far away, because such is the intensity of their love and hence, he believes that she must be hiding somewhere near to tease him.⁷² Thus he justifies his search. It reaches the second stage when Urvaśī reappears,⁷³ the way for which has already been prepared by the acquisition of the Saṅgamaṇi gem⁷⁴ and the assurance given by a divine voice.⁷⁵ The description of the sorrow of separation and the joy of reunion rises up to the highset pitch, only the latter is drawn not in the same high pitch as the sorrow. It is a highly poetic scene and forms a notable instance of the description of *Vipralambha-Śṛṅgāra*, rivalled, if at all, only by that in that perfect gem of a lyric, the *Meghasandēśa*.

The fourth Act describes the quest of beauty. Purūravas sees beauty everywhere, but not the ideal he has realised. Likeness to his beloved he sees in the varied aspects of nature and he conceives human life one with the environments, co-extensive with nature—fauna, flora, inanimate nature, such as running brooks, mountain peaks, clouds, etc., beauty being the unifying factor. Wherever is beauty present, there Purūravas suspects the presence of his beloved, Urvaśī, who combines the ideal with the real, so far at least as he is concerned. Here, then, is unity of all life elaborated on an aesthetic basis. Creative beauty is charming whatever be the form in which it appears: an antelope, a swan, a river, a cuckoo, a tree,

⁷¹ IV—14: the stage direction preceding.

⁷² IV—6 and 12.

⁷³ IV—18.

⁷⁴ *Vide* the stage direction following IV—53.

⁷⁵ IV—49.

⁷⁶ IV—50.

or an elephant—each one of these can be as delightful as any human form that an artist can bring into existence. This is the great lesson that the poet teaches in this Act. And finally, the king realises his ideal of beauty not in glorious things, but in a simple creeper void of tendrils,⁷⁰ void of shoots, void of buds, void of flowers; it is such a plant that yields him the delight of his heart. The ideal of beauty is thus always subjective in character and it has to be realised through the real which comes within the purview of the individual.

The fifth Act is of one scene, passing through a number of stages. Vidūsaka opens the scene : he is happy that the king has returned from the Nandana forest and is ruling the kingdom happily with, however, one source of sorrow that he is childless.⁷⁷ The lifting of this sorrow involves the prospect of a deeper sorrow. This constitutes the complicating factor of the Act. The tone of sadness is emphasised and made more acute by the loss of the Saṅgamaṇi jewel, which is picked up by an eagle, mistaking it for a piece of flesh,⁷⁸ and it sets the whole court astir. This sadness is balanced by a touch of valour,⁷⁹ when the king starts in pursuit thereof.⁸⁰ But the eagle darts away and is soon beyond the arrow of the king⁸¹ and therefore with orders to watch the bird as it returns to its roost,⁸² he returns immersed in sorrow, not that he lost a jewel, but the jewel which reunited him with his beloved.⁸³ Before long, news is brought that the bird is killed and the gem recovered;⁸⁴ and with the gem is brought the arrow

⁷⁷ IV—52.

⁷⁸ V—1.

⁷⁹ V—2 and 3.

⁸⁰ V—4 and 6.

⁸¹ *Vide* stage direction after V—8.

⁸² V—13.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ V—16.

which killed the bird—the arrow marked with the name of *Ayus*.⁸⁵ The king is glad and he is gladder of the prospect of his having a son born to him.⁸⁶ With the entrance of the son,⁸⁷ the second stage of the scene is ushered in and this raised the king's gladness to its highest pitch.⁸⁸ Then the question rises : why did Urvaśī hide his son from him ? This doubt, as the sequel shows, becomes a source of very poignant sorrow. Urvaśī comes and explains why the child has been kept away and what the result is of his seeing him.⁸⁹ The touch of tenderness and simplicity marks the leave taking of Urvaśī: the story is unfolded in all its details and everybody is drowned in intense sorrow. At this supreme moment is introduced Nārada⁹⁰ who brings the glad tidings that Urvaśī is permitted to consort with the king till his death.⁹¹ This is very happy news and all are immersed in bliss ecstatic, which reaches its peak when *Ayus* is crowned king by Nārada himself.⁹² Be it, however, noted that there is here introduced a change in the nature of the love : romance or *Kāma* is replaced by a *Dharma* element.⁹³

We have in the preceding sketched briefly the development of the emotion of love in the *Vikramorvaśīya*; and our study shows that the drama portrays love in its two aspects of love-in-enjoyment and love-in-suffering. The delineation is characterised not by great contrasts, not by serious complications, not by unexpected resolutions, but

⁸⁵ V—18.

⁸⁶ V—22 and 29.

⁸⁷ V—29 and 30.

⁸⁸ *Vide* stage direction following V—37.

⁸⁹ V—40 and 60.

⁹⁰ V—95.

⁹¹ V—105.

⁹² V—120.

⁹³ V—127.

⁹⁴ V—120. Compare also III—13.

by delicacy and intensiveness, scarcely paralleled elsewhere in the whole range of our literature. It is supernatural love; it has an elevated tone about it, not unworthy of the great hero, not unworthy of the celestial nymph. On the face of it, it is not normal love: but Purūravas suffers again and again, and thus makes himself worthy of the love of a celestial nymph. Thus the whole drama forms a thesis on love.

We shall not better conclude this brief study than with a reference to what appears to be an abnormal condition imposed upon the union of Purūravas and Urvaśī. The fruition of their love in the shape of a son is to be the end of the bliss of love;⁹⁴ and note Urvaśī is to separate from the king, only when the latter visualises his child.⁹⁵ What it may be asked the rationale of this queer condition imposed their enjoyment of love and that by Indra who wishes well by both?

Urvaśī is a celestial and she has therefore her well-defined duties in heaven,⁹⁶ while Purūravas is a mortal. Hence permanency for this love is impossible and it must necessarily have a time-limit. The condition imposed gives, as the sequel shows, freedom of fixing up the time-limit to Urvaśī and this explains why Purūravas is kept ignorant of the condition. Being a celestial, Urvaśī can presumably control conception and, if by an accident, conception takes place, she can, if necessary, hide her issue from the king. Urvaśī thus gets freedom to leave Purūravas when she feels tired of him, unless she is forced to leave him earlier by an accidental breach of the condition. In other words, the time-limit laid down ensures the union of the couple so long as there is mutual love present, in the absence of which the woman is free to move away: that is to say, it is based upon not external circumstances,

⁹⁴ III—13.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

but upon mutual sex-appeal and sex-attraction; and at the same time, it provides for the birth of an issue for Purūravas, whose one source of sorrow has been childlessness.⁹⁷ Thus, it will be seen that the condition imposed is after all not so unnatural as it apparently looks: on the other hand it takes full cognisance of the peculiar nature of this most human of all emotions and at the same time it does not take away from the grace of the gift which Indra makes to his friend and ally Purūravas and to his favourite mistress.⁹⁸

As the sequel shows, it is again accident, and not salvation of love that raises the prospect of separation.⁹⁹ This is well revealed in the extreme sorrow with which Urvaśī prepares for her departure¹⁰⁰ and the king's loss of interest in life,¹⁰¹ who therefore prepares to renounce life.¹⁰² Accident has brought the couple together and here accident is about to force them apart, despite their intense mutual love; and so accident¹⁰³ again helps them to continue in the path of love. The prospect of a war between the Devas and Asuras necessitates that Purūravas should not renounce life, and this necessitates that Indra should allow Urvaśī to stay with Purūravas. And this continuance of conjugal bliss is perfectly in keeping with the beginnings of their love: it begins in king's heroism and Urvaśī's helplessness, and it is now made permanent because of the king's heroism and Indra's helplessness. None but the brave wins the fair, and none but the brave can keep the fair after winning.

⁹⁷ *I'ide* I—13.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ III—12.

¹⁰⁰ The getting of the arrow and the recognition of Ayus are accidental.

¹⁰¹ V—91 and 95.

¹⁰² V—99.

¹⁰³ V—120 and 123.

In this phase of the delineation of love there is revealed another interesting trait: it is eminently human from the beginning to the end; and like all romantic love, the more important stages of its growth and development are controlled by accident, or to use the familiar Indian expression, *Fate*. Indeed Love transcends the limitations of time and space.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE ĀGAMAŚĀSTRA OF GAUḌAPĀDA : edited, translated and annotated. By Mahamahopādhyaya Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. Pp. cxlvi + 308. University of Calcutta, 1943.

The present work popularly known as *Mūṇḍūkya-kārikā* or *Gauḍapādakārikā* is also called *Āgamaśāstra*, perhaps because in the colophons of certain MSS of the commentary by Śaṅkara, the name *Āgamaśāstraciraraṇa* has been found mentioned. It is one of the most important works on the origin of Vedānta due to which the work is sometimes named *Vedāntamūla* also.

Pandit Vidhushekhara Śāstrī has been working on it for over twenty years and it is gratifying to see the results of his studies in such an excellent form. He has taken great pains in placing before the scholarly world a correct text with the help of several MSS. His introduction, notes, etc., are quite exhaustive and comprehensive. The scholarly world is indebted to Śāstrī for this excellent edition of *Gauḍapādakārikā*. Prof. Śāstrī's contributions to Indian Philosophy, particularly Buddhism, is too well known. Several years ago he advocated that there is enough influence of Buddhism on Gauḍapāda. He holds the same view even now. Gradually he has become much more confirmed in his view. He is not at all satisfied with the interpretation of Śaṅkara, and thinks that Gauḍapāda, though a true *Advaitin*, is influenced by the Buddhist thoughts. He identifies the view of Gauḍapāda with that of the *Vijñānavāda*. It is true, holds Prof. Śāstrī, that Gauḍapāda advocates the *Vijñānavāda* in his *Kārikās*, but certainly, he takes the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* as the basis for his statement, and thus shows that there is an agreement between Vedānta and *Vijñānavāda*. Prof. Śāstrī says: "This Upaniṣadic seed of

idealism, being influenced by its elaborate system in Buddhism and the vast literature on it by the Buddhist teachers who flourished before Gauḍapāda, has developed into what we now find in the *Āgamaśāstra*. But when there are the above and the similar germs of idealism in the *Upaniṣads* it must be accepted that it did not first originate with the Buddhists, though it has much developed in their system later on, etc." Now, from the above also it is clear that the germs of Buddhist thought are found in our *Upaniṣads*, which have been developed by the Buddhist *Ācāryas* in later centuries, while the orthodox section did not make any effort to advance on what the *Upaniṣads* have said. It is also a fact that though there is enough similarity between Gauḍapāda and Buddhism, as has been shown by Prof. Śāstrī himself, their views differ in many respects. As such, would it not be then proper to say that Gauḍapāda with his wide experience of Buddhist thoughts has only been reminded of the original view as advocated in the *Upaniṣads* and has developed the same in his *Kārikās*? To say that the *Kārikās* have been written under the influence of Buddhism does not appear to be so satisfying when we can trace the sources of both to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. If, however, we mean by the influence of Buddhism that the revival of the old view of the *Upaniṣads* was due to the influence of Buddhist thoughts, then there is nothing to differ.

As to the title of the book—*Āgamaśāstra*—the reason given by Śāstrījī does not quite convince us. If that treatise which is based on traditional doctrines be named *Āgamaśāstra* then Iśvarākṛṣṇa's *Kārikās* on Sāṅkhya and similar other books also will have to be called by this name; for we know that in order to show the authenticity of a work, it is found that its author always likes to base it on old traditions. That one or two MSS have got the name in their colophons may be due to the fact that the first

section of the book is named *Agamaprakartana*; and perhaps it may also be due to the fact that those who want to show that the *Kārikās* have been written under Buddhist influence would like to give this name to it. However, we are very thankful to Śāstrījī for placing before us a new line of thinking.

COSMOLOGY OLD AND NEW : being a modern commentary of the fifth chapter of Shri Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra. By G. R. Jain, M. Sc. J. L. Jaini Memorial Series. No. IX. 6 + xiv + 255. To be had from: The Central Jain Publishing House, Ajitashrama, Lucknow. Rs. 4-8-0.

The book under review is a free English translation of the Fifth Chapter of the well-known Jaina canonical work — *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* of Umāsvatī, also known as Umāsvāmī who is believed to be the foremost disciple of Kundakundācārya. Umāsvatī, according to the Jaina tradition, lived from about 135 A.D. to 219 A.D. It contains ten chapters. It is respected both by the *Digambara* and the *Śvetāmbara* sections of the Jaina community. Even today it is read with devotion by almost all Jainas in private houses and temples as a sacred book. It alone teaches us an account of the logic, psychology, cosmology, ontology and ethics of the Jainas. Hence, it is regarded as a sacred epitome of Jainism. It has got a very fine commentary by the author himself. It has been published several times and has been also translated into English by Mr. J. L. Jaini for the *Sacred Books of the Jainas Series*.

Now, here is a fresh attempt to translate the Fifth Chapter alone with exhaustive notes into English by Prof. G. R. Jain. This chapter deals with Metaphysics, Physics, Chemistry, space, time, matter, heat, sound, light, motion, etc. The translator has not only taken great pains to explain the *Sūtras* in their true sense but has also gone

beyond the scope of the school to compare and contrast the views with those of other systems of Indian thought. This sort of comparative study is really useful and desirable for a comprehensive study of any system. But the translator has not confined himself within the limits of the various schools of Indian philosophy, he has gone beyond these and has made efforts to compare and contrast the views found in Jainism with the researches of modern sciences. Here there is bound to be some difference of opinion. It is just possible that we may have some common features in the two thoughts, but we know that the researches in the modern sciences are based on matter and such products of matter where one can easily have experiments performed. The modern sciences have purely materialistic outlook. The schools of Indian philosophy, on the other hand, carry their analysis of elements to such subtle stages as the modern methods fail to understand. Again, the Indian outlook is not merely materialistic but also psychic and spiritual. It is very difficult to extricate the last two aspects from our studies of Indian thought. Thus our standpoint being quite different, how can there be any comparison at all? Then, to try to find out the developments of the modern sciences in our systems also does not appear to serve any useful purpose. I would rather like, as the translator has promised, that independent efforts should be made on the basis of the data supplied by our thoughts to study critically what contributions have been made by our ancestors in the past and how far we can make any further additions to those. I think more useful purpose can be served by such independent researches in the field of knowledge than by merely making efforts to show and prove our superiority to the researches of others.

It is, however, very gratifying to see that the translator has made in this book an attempt to put before the English-knowing public and to the scholarly world at

large, the contributions of the Jainas in the domain of cosmology and atomic physics and that this attempt is not to seek in ancient texts the substance of modern theories. No doubt, much work is yet to be done in this respect, but it is very necessary to keep always in mind that one does not become over-enthusiastic and goes beyond the limits of the texts. Then, again, it is also equally necessary to remember that while tracing the exclusive contributions of Jainism one should know that it is so in reality. It is a fact that the systems of Realistic thoughts in India have more or less contributed to physics and chemistry (*vide—Positive Sciences of the Hindus* by Sir B. N. Seal and *Hindu Chemistry* by Sir P. C. Roy) and it is very difficult to say which system of the thought has first advocated a particular view. Now, here in this very book Prof. Jain says—"The 'animistic' belief of the Jains that the plants are endowed with life, etc.," but Mr. Jain is aware that almost all the schools of Indian thought believe in this and it is not easy to attribute this view to any one school exclusively.

After these few suggestions I heartily congratulate the translator for such an attempt.

The following articles will be published in the subsequent numbers of the Journal :—

1. The Islamic Conception of the Soul. By Dr. M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, Allahabad.
2. The Maghas of South Kosala. By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.
3. Some dated Manuscripts of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa and their bearing on the Limits for his Date (A D. 1500 to 1600) By Mr. P. K. Gode, Poona.
4. Instances of the Auxiliary Verb in the *Suttanipāṭa*. By Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, Allahabad.
5. The Purāṇic Date of the *Mahābhārata* War. By Mr. M. Raja Rao, Mysore.

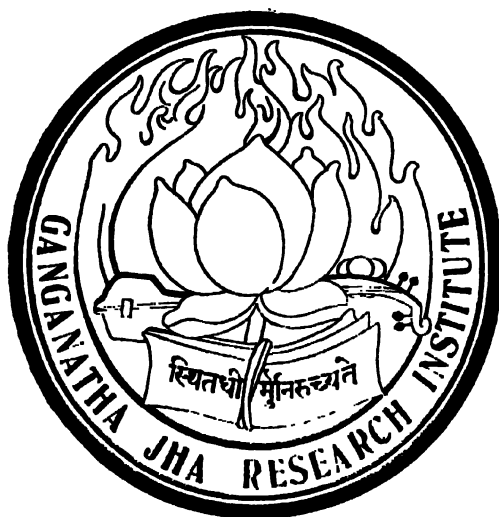
6. *Analysis of Verbal forms of Maithilī*. By Pt. Subhadra Jha, Darbhanga.
 7. *The Purāṇika view of the Saptarṣi cycle*. By Mr. M. Raja Rao, Mysore.
 8. *Kapila Eclipse*. By Dr. Shama Sastri, Mysore.
 9. *Authorship of the Setubandha*. By Mr. Ramaji Upadhyaya, Allahabad.
 10. *Research in Indian Philosophy—A Review*. By Dr. P. T. Raju, Annamalai University.
 11. *Siddha Śāstra*. By Mr. K. R. R. Sastry, Allahabad.
 12. *Sanskrit Versions of Foreign Works*. By Shri Raghuvara Mithulal Sastri, Allahabad.
 13. *Gleanings from Somadeva Sūri's Yaśastilaka Campū*. By Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras.
 14. *Some Unpublished Maithilī Songs*. By Pt. Ramanatha Jha, Darbhanga.
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[Part 2

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— Gathering at the Inaugural Meeting of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.

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Vol. I]

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[Part 2

CHANDAS

By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

The word for metre in Sanskrit is *chandas*. But why is it so? Yāska says (*Nirukta*, VII. 12): *chandām̐si chādanūt*. It means that metres are called *chandas* owing to 'covering'. Certainly this is a symbolical expression. For, literally nothing can be covered with a metre. The above explanation of Yāska is undoubtedly based on the following line of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (I. 4. 2)¹ or a similar Vedic text :

*devā vai mṛtyor bibhṛyātus trayīm̐ vidyūm̐ prūviṣan te
chandobhir acchādayan, yud ebhir acchādaym̐s tac
chandasām̐ chandastram.*

'Verily, the gods being afraid of death entered into the triple sacred science (i.e., the three Vedas). They covered (*acchādayan*, themselves) with metres. Because they covered (themselves) with them, therefore, the metres are called *chandas*'.

The following occurs in the *Dairata Brāhmaṇa* (III. 19): *chandām̐si (chadayati)² chadayatīti rā*.

¹ Durgācārya in his *ṭīkā* quotes it with some variants probably from his memory.

Or *chādayati*. I use here Jivānanda's edition which is not reliable at all. The following two words very clearly show that here at least one such word is wanted. Sāyana's commentary which is added to it in this edition is also not correct always.

And Sāyaṇa explains it :

chanda saṃvarane chādayati varṇān i[ti]. tathā ca nairuktaṃ chandāṃsi chādanāt.

According to Sāyaṇa we know from the above passage that the word *chandas* is from the root *chad* or *chand*, 'to cover'.

This is in fact the same as found in the *Nirukta* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* referred to.

Now the root of the word *chandas* is $\sqrt{\text{chad-chand}}$. This is in fact one root though appears in two forms, sometimes as *chad* and sometimes as *chand*, just as $\sqrt{\text{math}}$ - *manth*; we have both *mathana* and *manthana*.

In order to find out the true or the intended sense of this root here and to ascertain thereby as to how and why the word *chandas* is employed to mean a metre let us discuss the meanings of some words derived from the same root, $\sqrt{\text{chad-chand}}$.

In the *Nighaṇṭu* (III. 14) in the list of the roots meaning 'to praise' or 'to honour' (*arcati-karman*) in its wider sense we find *chandati* and *chadayate* which means, as known to us all, 'to please', 'gratify', 'conciliate'. In the list there is also the word *rañjayati* of the same meaning. Let here be quoted a passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 5. 2. I), which will serve our double purpose showing the meaning of the root as well as the actual significance of the word *chandas* :

tānyasmā acchandayaṃs tāni yad asmā acchandayaṃs tasmāc chandāṃsi.

'They (the metres) pleased (*acchandayam*) him, and inasmuch as they pleased ($\sqrt{\text{chand}}$) him they are called metres (*chandas*).'

Mark also the use of the root $\sqrt{\text{chad}}$ in the word *kavichad* (*Rgveda*, III. 12. 15) 'causing pleasure to the wise'. This root meaning 'to please' is found in many cases in the Vedic and Epic passages. Consider also its employ-

ment in later Sanskrit in such words as *upacchandayati* 'one seduces, entices'; *upacchandana* 'persuasion, conciliation, enticing'.

For its further elucidation the following words may also be taken into consideration: In the *Rgveda* (for instance, I. 92. 6) the word *chandu* as an adjective is found in the sense of pleasing, alluring. It also means praising (*stotr*, *Nighaṇṭu*, III, 16). As a masculine noun, it is used to mean 'pleasure,' 'delight,' 'desire,' 'will.'

It is to be noted here that the word *chandas* has the following senses: (i) desire, longing for,³ (ii) the sacred text of the Vedic hymns, and (iii) metre.

We know that by the primary suffix *-as* is made a large number of neuter nouns or action nouns, sometimes assuming a concrete value, and also in the older languages a few agent nouns and adjectives and a considerable number of infinitives.

Now considering all that has been said above we may think that *chandus* ($\sqrt{\text{chand}}$, 'to please', with *-as*) literally meaning 'pleasing' first meant a Vedic hymn as being composed in metre it was very pleasing when chanted, and then also gradually the word was used to mean the metre itself in which it was composed. Or it may be that first a metre itself was called *chandas* as it was pleasing, and then a Vedic hymn being composed in the former.

We should like here to revert to the views of Yāska, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa*, referred to above, saying that *chandas* is so called on account of 'covering' (*chādana*). As said before this 'covering' is here symbolical, its literal sense being absolutely out of question. It may, therefore, be interpreted in the following or a similar way:

The gods who were afraid of Death (personified) chanted the Vedic metres so sweetly that he was simply

³ See *Kāṭikā* on Pāṇini, IV. 4. 93.

charmed and as such could not see them as if they were covered and in this way they escaped from his clutches.

We have seen that Sāyaṇa in explaining the passage of the *Dairuta Brāhmaṇa* writes *chandayati varṇān i[ti]*, meaning hereby, as it appears to me, that *chandas* is so called because it 'covers' the letters which imply here the *akṣaras* 'syllables' and *mātrās* 'moras'. Evidently the 'covering' here is figurative and it may mean the following or similar idea: In a metre the syllables or moras are fixed. You cannot add to or subtract from it at your sweet will even a single one of them without spoiling it, just as you cannot take out a thing from or put it in a box which is nailed and covered without opening or breaking it.

So far we have discussed the derivation of the word *chandas* from the root $\sqrt{\text{chad-chand}}$. But in the *Uṇādisūtras* (688 : *canderūdeśca chaḥ*) it is derived from $\sqrt{\text{cand}}$ (originally $\sqrt{\text{ścand}}$) 'to gladden', 'to please,' the initial *c* being changed to *ch*. Readers are to ascertain as to how far this explanation is to be accepted.

THE MAGHAS OF SOUTH KOŚALA

By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR.

The Purāṇas inform us in their usual prophetic strain that there will flourish in (South) Kośala a dynasty of nine powerful rulers known as 'Maghas.' This dynasty flourished during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. and ruled over the upper reaches of the Narmada and the Son and had extended its sway right up to Fatehpur in the heyday of its glory. The history of this dynasty is still shrouded in considerable mystery. It is proposed to discuss it here in a connected manner with such material as is available at present. A large number of inscriptions of this dynasty were discovered in Rewa State at Bandhogarh by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Deputy Director-General of Archaeology. These have not yet been published. A summary of these records is being included in the forthcoming *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*. I am indebted to Dr. Chakravarti for sending me an advanced copy of the proof of this summary of Bandhogarh inscriptions, which I am thus enabled to utilise in reconstructing the history of the dynasty. A full and reliable account of the kings of this dynasty will be possible only when further archaeological discoveries are made.

The information supplied by the Purāṇas is very meagre. They only tell us that there will be nine kings in this dynasty, who will be powerful and intelligent. The names of these rulers and the reign periods of each of them are not given. Their time also is not specifically indicated; the context shows that they must have ruled sometime in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D. Kośala is mentioned

¹ कोशलायां नु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः । मेधा इति समाख्याता बुद्धिमन्तो नवैव नु ॥
D. K. A., p. 51.

as their home. Obviously South Kośala is meant. This province included a number of districts in Eastern C.P. but its precise extent is rather difficult to determine.

The Maghas of the Purāṇas are obviously identified with a number of rulers whose inscriptions are found in Reva State and at Kauśāmbī, and the names of some of whom end with 'Magha.' So far the following kings are known to us either from inscriptions or coins:—

1. Mahārāja Vāsīṭhīputra Bhīmasena. Known from Bandhogarh inscription (unpublished) of the year 51, (which gives him the epithet of Vāsīṭhīputta) Ginja inscription of the year 52 (*E. I.*, III, p. 306) and a sealing found at Bhita, 10 miles from Allahabad, *A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1910-11, pp. 50-1.
2. Kochhiputta Poṭhasiri. Son of No. 1. Known from unpublished Bandhogarh inscriptions, dated in the years, 86, 87, 88. Possibly a coin found at Bhita with a legend doubtfully read as Praṣṭhaśriya was issued by him.
3. Mahārāja Bhadramagha. Known from Kosam inscriptions dated 81, 86 and 87 (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 253; XVIII, p. 160; XXIII, 245). He is identical with Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva known from an inscription at Bandhogarh of the year 90 (unpublished); who is there described as the son of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri, No. 2 above.

A few coins of this ruler have been found; *J.N.S.I.*, II, pp. 95ff.

4. Mahārāja Śivamagha. Known from a Kauśāmbī undated inscription (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 159, a seal found at Bhita strikingly similar to that of Bhīmasena, No. 1 above (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*,

1910-11, pp. 50-1) and a large number of coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).

5. Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa. Known from a Kosam inscription dated 107 (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 146), two undated inscriptions from Bandhogarh which state that his father was Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala, a fragmentary unpublished inscription in *Allahabad Municipal Museum* and a large number of coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).
6. Mahārāja Bhīmavarman. Known from Kauśāmbī inscriptions dated 130 and 139 (*Indian Culture*, I, p. 177 and *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 267) and 9 coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).
7. Mahārāja Śatamagha. Known from coins only (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p.).
8. Mahārāja Vijayamagha. (*Ibid.*, p.).

It will be seen from the above list of kings and their inscriptions that many of the latter are dated. The earliest record of the first of them is dated in the year 51 and the latest record of No. 6 is dated in the year 139. It is clear that the records are dated in an era and not in regnal years. The facility of inscriptions dated in an era usually enables us to solve a number of historical problems; here, however, the case has become rather complicated because there is a wide divergence of opinion about the identity of the era used by these kings.

Inscriptions do not unfortunately mention the name of the era. We have therefore to determine its epoch by palæographical and historical considerations. Now, it is of Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman are

closely similar to the characters of Gupta inscriptions. It is, therefore, argued that these rulers must have flourished in the 4th and the 5th centuries. Messrs. N. G. Majumdar and Krishna Deva hold that the era used in the Magha inscriptions is the Chedi era starting in 248 A.D. (*E.I.*, XXV, p. 146 and p. 253). According to this view the dates of Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman would be c. 330 A.D., 380 A.D.

Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni refers the years to the Gupta era starting in 319 A.D. (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 160). According to this view the dates of the above kings would be c. 401 A.D., 426 A.D. and 451 A.D. respectively.

Sir John Marshall, Dr. Konow (*E.I.*, XXIII, p. 247) and Dr. Motichandra (*J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 95 ff) opine that the years refer to the Śaka era. According to this view the dates of the above kings would be c. 150 A.D., 175 A.D. and 208 A.D. respectively.

It is perhaps too early to dogmatise about the era used in these records; further discoveries alone can solve the riddle satisfactorily. I however think that the view that these years refer to the Śaka era is likely to prove the correct one. The main argument against this view is the palaeographical. It is argued that the characters of these inscriptions are indistinguishable from Gupta characters, and so we cannot place them in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, as would be necessitated by referring these years to the Śaka era. This argument is however not a decisive one. There are survivals of archaic forms in later inscriptions and anticipations of later developments in earlier records. We have a striking instance of the latter phenomenon in the Mathura inscription of Kanīṣka dated in the year 14 (*E.I.*, XIX, p. 96) which contains the typically later forms of the Eastern Gupta variety of the three test letters *m*, *s*, and *h*. A critical examination of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta inscriptions shows that there is no hard-

and-fast difference between Kuśāna and Gupta characters. It would, therefore, be too dogmatic to argue that the palæography of these Magha records compels us to place them in the Gupta period.

There are further circumstances which make it more or less certain that these Magha rulers must have flourished before the Guptas. If we refer these inscriptions to the Chedi era of 248 A.D., the date of Vaiśravaṇa would be *c.* 355 A.D. and that of Bhīma-varman 377 A.D. These rulers then become contemporaries of Samudragupta. This ruler exterminated all the rulers of the Gangetic plain; why then should not the names of these kings appear in the Allahabad inscription among the rulers forcibly uprooted by that conqueror? It may be conceded that Samudragupta may have allowed the Maghas to subsist as his feudatories. The feudatories of the Imperial Guptas in the most outlying parts of the empire invariably refer to their overlords in their records; they were never permitted to mint any coins of their own. Is it likely that in the heyday of his power Samudragupta would have ever permitted a feudatory house ruling not far from his capital to offer him the affront of having its independent coinage? Would not his iron hand descended down swiftly on the unfortunate heads of Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmasena for their insolence in not referring to their overlords in their inscriptions?

On the other hand if we refer the inscriptions to the Śaka era, the Maghas precede the Guptas by about 75 years. We can then well understand how they were ruling as independent rulers, and issuing coins on their own behalf. We can also understand how the Magha coinage shows no influence on the Gupta coinage. I therefore think it most likely that the era used in the Magha records is the Śaka era and propose to reconstruct their history on that hypothesis.

Vāsiṭṭhīputta Bhīmasena is the earliest known member of the dynasty. Whether he was its founder or was preceded by some other ruler or rulers we do not know. But since the Purāṇas state that there were nine rulers in this dynasty and we have got the names of eight of them, it is not likely that more than one or two rulers would have preceded Bhīmasena, if he was not himself the founder of the dynasty. His known dates are 51 and 52, which according to our hypothesis would correspond to 129 and 130 A.D. respectively. Since the latest known date for his son is 88, we may take it that he ruled from *c.* 45 to *c.* 70, *i.e.*, *c.* 123 A.D. to 148 A.D.

It is interesting to note that no inscription of this ruler is found at Kauśāmbī. Ginja was the northernmost place included in his kingdom and it is situated 40 miles south of Allahabad. During his rule the Kuśāna empire was still in its heyday and controlling the whole of the Madhyadeśa. Kauśāmbī was on the highway from Mathurā to Pāṭaliputra and was under the Kuśāna control. The Maghas did not dare to cast their eyes on it. The discovery of a sealing of this king at Bhita need not prove that it was included in his kingdom; the sealing may have travelled with a letter sent to that place from Bando-garh, which was most probably the capital of the Maghas at this time. It is clear that the Kuśānas like the Moghuls in later times did not care to penetrate into the jungles of Baghelkhand and Reva and so Mahārāja Bhīmasena could rule there as an almost independent ruler.

Vāsiṭṭhīputta Bhīmasena was succeeded by his son Kocchiputta Poṭhasiri, who has recently become known to us from his Bandhogarh inscriptions. Since Śaka 88 corresponding to 166 A.D. is his latest known year, we may assume that he ruled from *c.* 148 to 168 A.D. His Kuśāna contemporaries were Huiṣka and Vāsu-deva I.

Five records of this king have been found at Bandhogarh and they show that his kingdom was in a prosperous condition during his rule. Merchants from Mathurā and Kauśāmbī are seen visiting Bandhogarh and making pious endowments for the purpose of constructing wells and excavating caves for Buddhist monks. His government had the paraphernalia of a well constituted administration: a foreign minister of his, named Magha, is seen among the donors at Bandhogarh.

The Kuśāna empire was now on the decline and Bhadramagha or Bhaṭṭadeva, the heir-apparent, was bent upon exploiting the situation to the full in order to extend his kingdom. Magha, the foreign minister of his father, must have been his right hand in planning and executing the plans of expansion and aggrandisement. By c. 155 A.D. Bhadrāmāgha managed to snatch away Kauśāmbī from the Kuśāna control; we have his inscriptions at the latter place dated 81, 86 and 87 corresponding to 159, 164 and 165 A.D. We have the apparently inexplicable phenomenon of the dates of the father and the son overlapping; the former's inscriptions at Bandhogarh are dated in the years 86, 87, and 88 and the latter's inscriptions at Kauśāmbī are dated in the years 81, 86 and 87. We can explain this riddle by the assumption that it was the crown prince Bhadrabala, who had managed to extend the kingdom beyond Kauśāmbī by his ambitious plans of expansion. His father, therefore, may have permitted him to rule at Kauśāmbī practically as an independent ruler even in his own life time.

It was probably by diplomacy or a coupe rather than an open appeal to the arms that Bhadramagha managed to seize Kauśāmbī. The Kuśāna emperor Vāsudeva I may have connived at this aggression in a distant corner of his empire, as did the Bijapur Sultan in the case of Shivaji at the beginning of his career, probably for similar reasons.

If the reading *Prasthaśriya* of the legend on the coin found at Bhita is correct, it is clear that as a natural consequence of the growing importance of his dynasty, Poṭhasiri started the coinage of his dynasty.

Mahārāja Bhādrāmagha succeeded his father in *c.* 168 A.D. As shown above, it was he who contributed to the prestige and greatness of his family by annexing Kauśāmbī and the territories beyond to his kingdom. It was also he who started the regular coinage of the dynasty by determining its prevailing type. On the obverse of this coin type there is a tree within railing above, with a three-arched hill by its side and the legend below. On the reverse there is a bull, which is so common on the coins struck at Kauśāmbī.

The duration of the reign of this ruler, who ascended the throne in *c.* 168 A.D. is not known. He does not seem to have ruled long after the death of his father; for King Vaiśravaṇa, who was the successor of his successor Śivāmagha, is seen ruling in Śaka 107 or 185 A.D. We may therefore place the independent reign of Bhādrāmagha between *c.* 168 and 175 A.D.

Mahārāja Śivāmagha seems to have been the successor of Bhādrāmagha. We have no dated records of this ruler and so it is not possible to be dogmatic about the time of his rule. Nor do we know his relationship with Bhādrāmagha, which may have indirectly helped us to determine his reign period. It is quite possible to argue that Śivāmagha did not succeed Bhādrāmagha and, that the latter ruled down to *c.* 185, when he was succeeded by Vaiśravaṇa. If we make this assumption, we shall have to place Śivāmagha after Mahārāja Bhīma-varman, *i.e.*, after *c.* 220 A. D. He would be then separated from Mahārāja Bhīmasena by nearly a century. This seems rather improbable, for the seal of Śivāmagha found at Bhita bears a very close resemblance to the seal of

Mahārāja Bhīmasena. On the seals of both, there is a woman standing on right and bull with crescent below his neck on the left. The name of Bhīmavarman is inscribed below the symbols and that of Śivamagha above them: this is the only difference.

The relationship of Śivamagha with Bhadrabala is not yet known; but very probably he was his son. He may be presumed to have ruled down to c. 184 A.D.

Mr. Govind Pai has argued that Gautamīputra Śivamagha, whose seal has been found at Bhita, was a younger son of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarsena I and was deputed to Kauśāmbī as a royal viceroy. The so-called Magha dynasty was founded by him. This view however is untenable. It is true that Gautamīputra, which was the matronymic of the eldest son of Pravarasena I, who predeceased him; and so it appears plausible to argue that Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the Bhita seal was his brother. Śivamagha however cannot be regarded as the founder of the Magha dynasty, for there is definite evidence that Bhadramagha, Poṭhasiri and Bhīmasena had preceded him. The seal of Śivamagha shows that he was intimately connected with Bhīmasena; in fact, as shown above, the seals of both these rulers are almost identical. Śivamagha was connected with the rulers of Bandhogarh and not with Vākāṭaka rulers. Śivamagha's currency also shows that he belonged to the royal family ruling at Bandhogarh and Kauśāmbī; for he continues the same type. The Vākāṭakas issued no coins at all. It would be then strange that a provincial royal viceroy should have started an innovation unknown to the parent dynasty. We have therefore to abandon the view that the Maghas were a branch founded by the Vākāṭakas. There is a chronological difficulty also in accepting this theory. It is possible to accept only if we refer the Magha dates to the Chedi era. We have seen already how this is not possible.

After a short reign of about eight years, Śivamagha was succeeded by King Vaiśravaṇa, who according to a Bandhogarh inscription, was a son of Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala. If we assume that this Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala is identical with Mahārāja Bhadramagha, the predecessor of Śivamagha, then Vaiśravaṇa would probably become a brother of Śivamagha. But such does not seem to have been the case. King Bhadramagha had assumed the title of Mahārāja in a number of his records at Bandhogarh. Is it then likely that he would have been designated by the lower title of a Mahāsenāpati by his son in records inscribed after his death? We must therefore conclude that Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala, the father of Vaiśravaṇa, was a different personality from Mahārāja Bhadramagha, who annexed Kauśāmbī to his kingdom. Bhadrabala was probably a junior member of the royal family, possibly a younger brother of Bhadramagha. His son Vaiśravaṇa may have succeeded Śivamagha, because he left behind no heir. Or it may be that he may have ousted Śivamagha and usurped the throne for himself. It must be noted that Śivamagha had a reign of not more than nine years; it may have been a much shorter one also if we assume that Bhadramagha ruled a few years after 175 A.D. and Vaiśravaṇa a few years before 184 A.D.

The exact duration of Vaiśravaṇa's reign is not known; but it is very probable that it extended from *c.* 184 to *c.* 205 A.D. Śaka 107 or 185 A.D. is his only known date.

It was probably during the reign of Vaiśravaṇa that the northern boundary of the Magha kingdom was pushed to Fatehpur, where a large hoard of Magha coins was discovered some years ago. This expansion became feasible because the Kuśāna empire was now rapidly decaying. The Maghas thus became the southern

neighbours of the Nāgas of Padmāvati. The rulers of Kauśāmbī very often used to govern Mirzapur and Benares also; whether Vaiśravaṇa and his successors did so we do not know. No Magha coins or antiquities have so far been found in these districts. From the Purāṇas we learn that the Maghas were ruling over South Kośala, which included the territories right up to Bilaspur and Raipur districts of C.P. It is quite possible that the southern limits of the kingdom may have extended up to these districts, though so far we have not found any antiquities of theirs to the south of Bandhogarh in Reva State. It is very probable that in the heyday of their glory, the Magha kings ruled over the wide territories extending from Vilaspur to the south to Fatehpur in the north. Probably they had two capitals, the ancestral one at Bandhogarh and a new one at Kauśāmbī.

Since the earliest known date of Bhīmarvarman is 130 Śaka or 208 A.D., it is almost certain that Vaiśravaṇa was succeeded by Bhīmarvarman in c. 205 A.D. Bhīmarvarman's relationship with Vaiśravaṇa is not so far known, but it is likely that he was his son. Śaka 139 or 218 is his latest known date; his reign therefore may be placed between c. 205 and 230 A.D. Bhīmarvarman has also left us his coins, which are identical in type with the coins issued by his predecessors. No incidents of his reign are known.

Kings Śatamagha and Vijayamagha have recently come to light through numismatic discoveries. The present writer discovered their coins in the valuable coin collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad. They are similar in type to the coins of the other Magha rulers and therefore clearly show that they belonged to the same dynasty. We have seen already how we cannot place these kings anywhere between Bhīmasena and Bhīmarvarman; we must therefore presume that they succeeded

the latter king. No inscriptions, dated or undated, of these kings have been found so far and so we can only tentatively fix their reign period between 230 to 275 A.D.

Whether any other Magha king succeeded them, we do not know. Most probably the dynasty came to an end in *c.* 275 A.D. Numismatic evidence shows that it was succeeded by King Nava, whose coins are an exact copy of the Magha coins. Sometime after Nava came King Puśvaśrī, who seems to have been a contemporary of the early Gupta kings at Kauśāmbī.

CANDRAŚEKHARA SMṚTIVĀCASPATI

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Determination of the real identity of authors is a difficult problem in the history of Indian literature.¹ The same person had different names (especially in the case of Tantric writers) and titles one or other of which was used in different works written by him. Then there was the temptation to pass later works of less known authors under the names of earlier celebrities. It is not also unknown that more than one author possessed the same name or title. These facts are responsible for a good deal of confusion resulting in wrong identifications of authors of different periods and different parts of the country. One among numerous such cases is dealt with in the present note. A number of works variously attributed to the well-known Vācaspati Miśra of Mithilā² or to a Mahāmahopādhyāya Candrasēkhara 'a Vārendra Brahmin who settled at Navadvīpa in the beginning of the 18th century and wrote many works on Smṛti' will be found to have really emanated from a different man hailing from Trivenī in Bengal—Mahāmahopādhyāya Candrasēkhara Smṛtivācaspati who flourished towards the middle of the 17th century.

Candrasēkhara was related to Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana, the famous author of the *Vicādadharmaṅgārṇava* which was translated by Colebrooke in his *A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession* (Calcutta, 1798).

¹ *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* [ASB], Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. XXXIII; *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp. 77-78.

² *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library* [IO], Vol. III, 1490; *Descriptive Cat. Sans. MSS in the Sanskrit Coll. Library, Calcutta* [CS], Vol. II, 79; ASB, III, p. XXX.

As a matter of fact, he is stated to have been the 'brother of the maternal grandfather of Jagannātha,' who refers to him variously as 'my venerable grandfather,' 'modern Vācaspati,' or 'Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya' (Colebrooke, *Digest*, I. XVI, 133, III. 343). According to local tradition, however, he was the elder brother of his paternal grandfather (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 14). He composed his *Draṭṭanirṇaya* in 1562 Ś.E. (1640 A.D.) as is evident from a statement of his own made in the body of the work (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 10).

The full name of the author seems to have been Mahāmahopādhyāya Candrasekhara Smṛtivācaspati. But the different parts of his name are scattered in different places of his works. He refers to himself either as Candrasekhara or as Vācaspati in the introductory verses of his works. An idea of the full name may be had from the third introductory verse³ and the colophon of the *Dharmadīpikā*, in the colophon of one manuscript of which the name of the author is given as Mahāmahopādhyāya Candrasekhara.⁴

The author does not give any genealogical account in detail. He mentions his grandfather Vidyābhūṣaṇa who is stated to have been versed in the six systems of Philosophy. The father though not mentioned by name is also stated to have been a scholar like his grandfather. In fact, Candrasekhara states that he was a pupil of his father.⁵ A work of the grandfather called the *Ahnikar-*

³ श्रीचन्द्रशेखरो नाम्ना स्वातो वाचस्पतिः स्मृतौ ।

⁴ R. L. Mitra—*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, V. 1919. Here the work is called *Dharmavireka*.

⁵ विद्याभूषणविख्यातः बह्मदर्शनमते सुधीः । तत्सुतस्तादृशो भीमान् ततोपीति च तत्सुतः ॥
श्रीचन्द्रशेखरो नाम्ना स्वातो वाचस्पतिः स्मृतौ । स्मृतीनां च प्रकारार्थं तनोतीमां प्रदीपिकाया॥

—Introductory verses Nos. 2-3 of the *Dharmadīpikā*.

According to Keith and Thomas (*IO*, Vol. II. 5919) as also Kane (*History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, p. 597) Vidyābhūṣaṇa was the father of Candrasekhara.

mīmāṃsū is referred to in the author's *Smṛtisūrasaṅgraha*.⁶ Reference is also made to his *Durgotsava-paddhati* (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (49. 11, f. n. 18).

Candraśekhara was the author of at least three Smṛti-Mīmāṃsā works⁷—the *Dharmadīpikā*, the *Smṛtisūrasaṅgraha* and the *Dvaitanirṇaya*. The chronology of the works is not known, but the third work appears to have been composed after the other two, as it has been referred to in each of them.⁸ 'The good number of recorded manuscripts of these works bears testimony to the popularity enjoyed by them at one time, though little is known of them at the present day. A reference is made to the manuscripts, mostly referred to or already described of these works :

Dharmadīpikā—10. III. 1570, Vol. II. 5919; *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. I.G. 15, 3882, 5133), *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*—R. L. Mitra (II. 650, V. 1919), *Notices of Sans. MSS.*—H. P. Shastri (I. 192), *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vahgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, p. 250.

Smṛtisūrasaṅgraha—CS, II. 203, IO, III. 1490, *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. II. A. 42), ASB. (III. 2074). *Dvaitanirṇaya*—CS. II. 79, *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. II. A. 42), *Vahgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Sanskrit MS., No. 1913).

⁶ विवृत्तं पितामहकृतादिकर्मासायाय—*Smṛtisūrasaṅgraha* MS (No. II. A. 42) belonging to Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 152.

⁷ It is just possible a number of other smṛti works were also composed by him (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 12).

⁸ व्यवहार्यता तु अस्माभिर्दत्तनिर्णये व्यवस्थापिता—*Dharmadīpikā* (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. No. 3882, Fol. 31A). Also *Smṛtisūrasaṅgraha* (Society's MS. No. II. A. 42, pp. 153, 161.).

⁹ This is an incomplete MS. of the work. It agrees generally with MS. No. 3882. Fol. 1-9A and Fol. 33B—49B of the latter MS. are not found in the present MS. In line 1 of Fol. 21B (=first half of line 1 of Fol. 33B of MS. No. 3882) it is definitely recorded that some portion is missing in the present MS. (अत्रान्यत्र द्रुष्टव्यं). The second half of line 1 and line 2 of Fol. 21B agree with the last two lines of MS. No. 3882.

THE ISLAMIC CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL

By M. G. ZUBAID AHMAD

1. *Introduction.*

There has been a great controversy amongst the philosophers and thinkers of the world about the existence and nature of the soul. Several different theories were prevailing before Aristotle. Plato tried to explain it by his theory of the world-soul. Aristotle criticized all of them and defined the soul as "the first entelechy of a natural body which is capable of having life, that is, of an organic body designed for a definite purpose." Amongst the modern philosophers of Europe there is also a great difference of opinion on this problem. This controversy is not confined to the domain of philosophy alone. Different religions have got different notions of the soul, and so we find such terms as the Muslim soul, the Hindu soul, the Christian soul, etc., in the *Encyclopædia of Religions*. In the following pages I propose to explain the conception of the soul according to Islām. I shall treat the subject from the theological standpoint rather than metaphysical, psychological or mystic point of view.

2. *Arabic words for the soul.*

For the soul, there are two words in Arabic, *rūḥ* and *nafs*. Both of them are philologically connected with wind (breath). The Arabic word for wind is *rīḥ* which and the word *rūḥ* have a common root, as is shown by the fact that the plural of both of them is *arwāḥ*. Moreover, the word *ruh* also means breath. For instance, take this sentence *ملأ القربة بروحه* (he filled his water-skin with his breath). As to the word *nafs*, it may be pointed out

¹ Lane's *Arabic English Lexicon* (under '*rūḥ*').

that it is derived from *tanaffus* (breathing, for which sense there is a special word of the same root, but differing in pronunciation, viz.; *nafas*). All this proves that the idea of wind is predominant in both of the words. It may be pointed out here that they may be synonyms but they are not always interchangeable. We cannot say *قال في روحه* in place of *قال في نفسه* or *قال في نفسه* for *قال في نفسه*. The sense of 'mind' is generally conveyed by *nafs* and so psychology (science of mind) is called '*ilmu 'n-nafs*'.

3. The word '*rūḥ*' in the *Qur'ān*.

The word *rūḥ* occurs 19 times in the *Qur'ān* and has been used in the following meanings:—

- (1) Revelation as in this verse

وَكَذَلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا مِنْ أَمْرِنَا³

(and thus we sent the revelation by our command).

- (2) Firmness, strength, etc., e.g., أَيْدِيَهُمْ بِرُوحٍ مِنْهُ⁴

(He helped them with firmness, strength from Him).

- (3) The angel Gabriel, e.g., وَأَيَّدْنَاهُ بِرُوحِ الْقُدُسِ⁵ (and we helped him with Gabriel).

- (4) The soul, spirit which animates the body as نَفَخَ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِهِ⁶ (He breathed into the body of His soul).

As the *Qur'ān* does not concern itself with philosophical discussions, there is nothing to be found in the Book

³ *Miftāḥ Kunūzu 'l-Qur'ān*, p. 284.

⁴ The *Qur'ān*, 42:52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 58:22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:253.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 32:7.

regarding the nature and reality of the soul except this that the Prophet was asked at the suggestion of some Jews about the soul, whereupon God sent a revelation⁷ to the effect that it owed its existence to His command. The great scholastic Rāzī says⁸ that this reply makes two things clear about the soul, *niz.*, (1) the reality of the soul is that it is an essence, simple and abstracted from matter and unlike to the material creatures of God, and (2) it is not eternal as it is a created entity.

4. *The word 'nafs' in the Qur'ān.*

It is generally held by Muslim scholars that wherever in the *Qur'ān* the word *rūḥ* means soul, it signifies the animal soul, and for the human rational soul, the Book uses the word *nafs*. This word in its single form occurs a hundred times.⁹ It has two plural forms *nufūs* and *anfūs*. The former has been used twice¹⁰ and the latter one hundred and twenty-five times.¹¹ This word either means 'self' or signifies the human soul which is subject to purification and education. And this fact makes it clear that the chief characteristic of the human soul is its consciousness and its yearning for activity.

5. *Is the conception of the 'rūḥ' and 'nafs' one and the same?*

I have already discussed the philological meanings of these two words. As to their conception there is a little controversy among the scholars. Some say that both the words connote the same sense, while others hold that the *rūḥ* is the animal soul, while the *nafs* is the rational

⁷ *Ibid.*, 17:85.

⁸ Rāzī's Commentary on the Verse, 17:85.

⁹ *Miftāḥ*, p. 540.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

soul. There is also a third view according to which either of the two words may be used in both the senses. According to some Šūfīs, the *rūh* is the spiritual and heavenly soul whereas the *nafs* is a material one. Al-Ghazālī says¹² that the words *rūh*, *nafs* and *qalb* respectively signify the physical soul, passions and the fleshy heart and all of them have also a common meaning, *i.e.*, the rational soul.

6. *Various views about the rational soul.*

Though the *Qur'ān*, as already said, is silent on the philosophical aspect of the soul except that it is an essence created by God's command, yet the question of the nature and reality of the soul is so important that it could not help engaging the attention of Muslim scholars whether pure theologians or pure philosophers. The former have discussed the matter in the light of the teaching of the *Qur'ān* and the Prophet and the latter under the guidance of their philosophical ideas. These speculations regarding the nature of the soul and its conceptions do not fall within the scope of the present article. Some theories may, however, be mentioned here to show the style and the nature of these philosophical discussions. To begin with, in the first place there are two main divisions of these differences;¹³ according to one division, the soul is an essence *not* abstracted from the matter, in other words it is a substance. The holders of this view are again divided amongst themselves. The famous Mu'tazilite Nazzām thinks that the soul is a body and it is the mind.¹⁴ By a 'body' he means to say that the soul is the fine and subtle corporal particles permeating the human body just as rose-water permeates the rose, remaining into the body from the very beginning up to the end of life.

¹² His *Iḥyā*, Vol. I, Chapter I.

¹³ *Kashshāf istilāḥātī 'l-funūn*, p. 542.

¹⁴ Al-Ash'arī's *Maqālāt al-'l-islāmiyyīn*, Vol. II, 333.

It does not undergo any change. Ibnu 'r-Rāwandī, another follower of this material tendency, holds that the soul is an indivisible atom and it is in the heart because the heart is that part of body which acquires knowledge. Some say it is fiery atoms while others describe it to be airy ones. According to another view it consists of watery atoms which are identical with the four human humours, moderate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Physicians say that it is a fine vapoury substance which is produced out of the fine humours of the body and their vapours. Some of them identify the soul with the fusion of the elements.

According to the other division of the Muslim thinkers, the soul is an essence abstracted from matter and its connection with the body is that of control and management. Another important follower of this school holds that the rational soul of man belongs to the 'world of the Command,' *i.e.*, the angelic world, and cannot be measured, while the animal soul pertains to the 'world of creation,' *i.e.*, the material world. I need not mention other speculations. I should, however, like to state here the orthodox view.

7. *The orthodox conception of the soul.*

The great scholastic Imām Fakhrū 'd-Dīn Rāzī has discussed this question in his well-known Qur'ānic Commentary under the verse 17, 85. He has mentioned there various theories of which he supports this one. The soul consists of atoms corporal, celestial, luminous and of fine essence like the nature of the light of the sun. When the body is created and is made prepared and fit to receive these atoms (as is signified by the Qur'ānic verse 32, 7—9, *i.e.*, then he made the body) they are made to permeate the interior of the body like the permeation of fire into charcoal or of oil in mustard or of rose-water into the rose.

As long as the body is fit and sound to retain this permeation of those fine atoms, it is living; but the moment this permeation is stopped, the man dies. This is the view which has been accepted by such an orthodox scholar of great reputation as Ibnu'l-Qayyim in *toto*, who has advanced 115 arguments, of course all theological, in support of this speculation and then refutes all the criticisms brought against it. He says that this theory is supported by the teaching of the *Qur'ān* and the Prophet. But the present writer does not agree to this statement. There is nothing in the *Qur'ān* and in tradition that may support the idea of 'permeation' which was the general tendency of the ancient and mediæval schools of philosophy. The teaching and the spirit of the *Qur'ān* recognise an entity of the soul as quite distinct from the body. Its characteristic is its consciousness and its yearning for unfolding its potentialities.

8. *Five stages of the human soul.*

According to Al-Ghazālī, there are five stages of the human soul¹⁵ :—

- (1) The perceiving soul which perceives what is brought to it by the five senses and it is the origin of the animal soul. It is common to animals and human babies.
- (2) The cogitative soul which retains what is brought to it by the senses and puts them before the conceiving soul. This stage is not reached by babies in the beginning but after some mental growth.
- (3) The conceiving soul which conceives abstract ideas. This stage is not attained by a mere boy.

¹⁵ *Kashshāf i'tilāhāt*, p. 543.

- (4) The thinking and reasoning soul which, by the synthesis and analysis of the known concepts, arrives at new conclusions and inferences.
- (5) The final stage of the human soul is the prophetic soul, which stage is reached by prophets and saints only. This soul sees the invisible and possesses the angelic knowledge.

Rāzī says that our experience shows beyond any doubt that all men do not possess the rational souls or mental powers of the same degree. According to him rational souls are of three classes: the highest and the sublimest, the mediocre and the lowest.¹⁶ He holds that the prophets and saints belong to the first class, Muḥammad the Prophet of Islām, being the highest member of this class. Their mental powers are so strong that they can perceive and conceive what an ordinary and mediocre mind cannot, and they are directly in touch with heavenly souls (a fourth kind of soul or mind, which Arabian psychologists have added to the three already existing kinds of mind, the vegetative, the animal and the human). Rāzī says that the more our soul busies itself with the affairs of the body and the world, the more our soul loses its contact with the heavenly souls. Here Rāzī explains the nature of dreams. In sleep our mind is less busy with the images brought to it by the senses and so it begins to work freely in its own way. If the mind is of a right sort, what it dreams, happens to be true. Rāzī further develops this theory of the strength of human soul and explains in this way what is called miracles.¹⁷ He says that a mind may be so strong and powerful that it not only can influence another mind in any way that it likes (and this is the foundation of hypnotism) but also can affect nature. According to Rāzī,

¹⁶ Rāzī's *Mabāḥithu' l-Mashriqiyyah*, Vol. II, p. 417.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

magic is also the reaction of a mind on nature like miracle. What differentiates the two from each other is that the object of the miracle is to lead the people to the right path, while magic is performed to deceive and cheat them.¹⁸

9. *The classes of souls according to their moral activities.*

A man's soul is held responsible for whatever he does. The soul which traverses the right path has been called *Nafsu 'l-muṭma'innah* (the tranquil soul) in the *Qur'ān*, the soul which does evil acts but at the same time reproaches itself for that, is termed as *nafsu 'l-lawwāmah* (the repenting soul) and the evil soul is called *nafsu 'l-ammārah* (the lustful and sensual soul).

10. *Is the human soul the soul of God?*

In three *Qur'ānic* verses occurring at different places in connection with the creation of Adam, God has said that He breathed of His spirit into Adam's body. Now the question is, does it mean that the human soul is Divine and a part of God? Some *Ṣūfis* might have thought in that way, otherwise, the interpretation adopted by the orthodox scholars and other scholastics is this that God breathed into the body a soul which is one of His creatures. As the soul is much sublimer than ordinary matter, God, out of regard for it, has called this soul His soul just as the *Ka'bah* is, out of sanctity and honour, termed as God's House.¹⁹

11. *Pre-existence of the soul.*

There are two schools of thought about this question. According to one school, souls were created before the creation of their bodies, and they are kept in His treasure-house. When their times come, God transfers them from

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

¹⁹ Ibnu 'l-Qayyim's *Kitābu 'r-Ruḥ* (Hyderabad), p. 246.

His treasure-house into human embryo. Others hold that the moment a body is created a soul is created and breathed into it. Both the schools quote the Scripture in their support.

13. *Are all souls of the same nature?*

According to some thinkers, all of them are of the same nature, as all men are; but they differ in their qualities. They form one species. Others hold that the soul is a genus having many species under it, and each species having different individuals. It is held generally that no two souls are alike just as no two men resemble together.²⁰

14. *Islamic eschatology.*

As nobody can deny the existence of the mind or soul, the *Qur'ān* has not cared to prove its existence or to explain its nature. What concerns the Book most is the life after death, because it is the foundation of all religions. It is the eschatological discussion of the soul and not its metaphysical or psychological treatment that is an important topic of the *Qur'ān*. Now I turn to this topic. This is a very vast subject. I shall confine myself to some important questions.

I. *Does the soul die?*

Some hold that it does not die, while others hold the opposite view. But it is only a wordy difference. If the death of the soul means its departure from the body, then certainly it dies. If the death of the soul is to be taken in the sense of its total annihilation, then in that sense it does not die.²¹

²⁰ *Kashshāf isṭilāḥāt* under '*nafs*'.

²¹ Ibnu 'l-Qayyim's *Kilābu r-Raḥ*, p. 51.

II. *How are souls distinguished from one another after death?*

When the soul is an essence standing by itself, this question does not arise. It concerns those who believe that souls cannot exist without bodies.²²

III. *Does the soul return to the grave?*

The soul which is taken away by the angel is brought back to be examined by the two angels called Munkir and Nakir.²³

IV. *Do the departed souls hear the voice of a living person?*

There is a little controversy about this point among theologians. Some say that they hear the living and some hold that they do not.²⁴

V. *Is an intercourse possible between the departed souls and the living?*

Souls after death can visit their living relatives. Our books on this topic are full of the stories of the departed souls meeting the living in dreams, which were proved to be true by the subsequent happenings. One of them may be related here.²⁵ This is a tradition narrated by the authentic chain of narrators. A certain companion of the Prophet was killed in action. After a few days another companion of the Prophet saw the departed soul in dream and heard it say: "Convey this message of mine to the Caliph that at the time of my death such and such person took away my armour. The Caliph should get it back from him and after selling it he should pay off my

²² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²³ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

debt that I owe to another man." The dream was reported to the Caliph who ordered both of the men to be present. They both testified to the truth of the report.

VI. *Where does the departed soul sojourn?*

During the period intervening between their time of death and the Day of Judgment, they sojourn in different regions ranging from the grave up to the very high point in heavens. The abode of the good soul has been called 'Illiyūn and that of evil souls is termed as Sijjīn,²⁶ the former being the highest and the latter, the lowest. After the Day of Judgment, they go to Paradise or Hell as they deserve.

VII. *Are the departed souls benefited by the prayers, almsgiving and charity done by living men?*

There is a controversy on this point amongst Muslim scholars. But the orthodox reply is in the affirmative.²⁷

VIII. *Transmigration of the soul.*

Islām rejects this theory very clearly, definitely and strongly. The Muslim books dealing with this topic are full of arguments. But as it is a great controversy between Hinduism and Islām, I should not like to discuss it here.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188 and the following pages.

SOME DATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TANTRASĀRA OF KṚṢṆĀNANDA VĀGĪṢA AND THEIR BEARING ON THE LIMITS FOR HIS DATE (A.D. 1500 to 1600)

By P. K. GODE

According to Farquhar¹ the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīṣa dates from A.D. 1812. In the *Catalogue*² of MSS in the Vaidya Sāhitya Parishat we find two MSS of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Bhaṭṭācārya which are dated A.D. 1693 and 1770. If the work called the *Tantrasāra* mentioned by Farquhar is identical with its name-sake represented by two dated MSS referred to above we must reject the date A.D. 1812 for it given by Farquhar. In fact this contradiction of dates for the *Tantrasāra* led me to the search of a MS of the work which is dated 54 years earlier than the MS of A. D. 1693 mentioned above. This MS³ is identical with MS No.

¹ Vide p. 355 of *Outlines of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920. On p. 389 also this author and his work are assigned to A.D. 1812.

² Published 1935 (Calcutta)—Page 57.

MS No. 585 —तन्त्रसार by कृष्णानन्दभट्टाचार्य Copied in Śaka 1615 (=A.D. 1693); in Bengali-characters.

MS No. 1623—Do—copied in Śaka 1692 (=A.D. 1770).

³ MS No. 388 of 1882-83 (तन्त्रसार) begins as follows:—

“श्रीगणेशाय नमः

नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वंद्वं ब्रह्मादिसुरवंदिनं ।

शुक्लं च शानदातारं कृष्णानंदेन धीमता ॥

तत्तत्प्रत्यंगताद्वाक्यान्नामार्थं प्रतिपद्यत ।

लौकिकार्थं च संक्षेपात्तन्त्रसारः प्रतन्यते ॥

Colophon on the last folio 337b reads:—

“...श्रीकृष्णानंदवागीशभट्टाचार्याय संग्रहः.....संवत् १६८५ समय आषाढ वदि
पदि वा लिखित पद्यधरमिश्रेण ॥”

388 of 1882-83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is very old but well preserved. It is dated *Samvat 1695* (=A.D. 1639) and may, therefore, be looked upon as one of the oldest dated MSS of the *Tantrasāra*. I note below some of the references to previous authors and works as found in this MS of A.D. 1639 :—

- (1) सारसंग्रह—fol. 1,
- (2) नारदवचनात्—fol. 1, 3, 10,
- (3) योगिनीतन्त्रे—fol. 1, 2, 9, 31,
- (4) गणेशविमर्शिन्या—fol. 2, 31,
- (5) रुद्रयामले—fol. 2, (रुद्रजामले) 6,
- (6) मत्स्यसूक्ते—fol. 2, 48,
- (7) वैशंपायनसंहितायां—fol. 2,
- (8) भैरवतन्त्रे—fol. 2, 124,
- (9) वाराहीतन्त्रे—fol. 3, 9, 18,
- (10) साम्प्रदायिकाः—fol. 3,
- (11) तन्त्ररत्ने—fol. 4,⁴
- (12) श्रीकृष्णे—fol. 4, 10, 132,
- (13) रामार्चनचन्द्रिकायाम्—fol. 5, 8,
- (14) निबन्धे—fol. 6, 24, 29, 32, 49, 55, 66, 87, 96, 109, 114, 121,
- (15) विश्वसारे—fol. 6, 22, 59, 162,
- (16) वाराहीजामलादौ—fol. 7,
- (17) आगमकल्पद्रुमे—fol. 7, 81,
- (18) सनत्कुमारवचनात्—fol. 8, 11, 45,
- (19) गौतमीयात्—fol. 9, 11, 12, 16, 25,
- (20) सनत्कुमारसंहितायाः—fol. 9,
- (21) हंसपरमेश्वरे—fol. 10,
- (22) मुंडमालायां—fol. 10, 17, 122,
- (23) भगवद्वचनात् (B. Gīta)—fol. 11,
- (24) योगिनीहृदये—fol. 13, 15, 17, 18, 19¹,
- (25) अगस्त्यसंहितायां—fol. 18, 17, 80,

⁴[Aufrecht *CCI*, 222.—तन्त्ररत्न by कृष्णविद्यावागीश (of नवदीप) *IO*, 364. I. 240, *Bik* 617].

- (26) कुलायवे—fol. 14, 16, 253,
 (27) तन्त्रराजे—fol. 17,
 (28) स्वतंत्रतंत्रे—fol. 20, 35, 156,
 (29) नीलतंत्रे—fol. 20, 177, 186,
 (30) शारदायां—fol. 25, शारदायां (fol. 30), 44,
 (31) नवरत्नेश्वरे—fol. 28, 43, 153,
 (32) राघवमठः—fol. 29, “इतिमठः” (fol. 42, 46, 244) “मठ-
 धृत” (fol. 45),
 (33) वासिष्ठे—fol. 30, 32, 295
 Colophon on folio 34—“इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीकृष्णानंद-
 विद्यावागीशमठप्रचार्यविरचिते तंत्रसारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः”
 (34) मालिनीतंत्रे—fol. 35,
 (35) महासंमोहनतंत्रे—fol. 36,
 (36) शानायवे—fol. 36, 41, 44, 113, 117, 298,
 (37) कुलचूडामणौ—fol. 36, 61, 263,
 (38) तारादौ—fol. 39,
 (39) विशुद्धेश्वरतंत्रे—fol. 40,
 (40) ब्रह्मयामले—fol. 45, ब्रह्मजामले (130)
 (41) विद्यानंदनिबन्धे—fol. 48,⁵
 (42) स्वच्छंदसंग्रहे—fol. 49,
 (43) दक्षिणामूर्तिसंहितायाम्—fol. 64, 113, 126,
 (44) पुरश्चरणाचन्द्रिकायाम्—fol. 81,
 (45) बृहद्गीतमीये—fol. 85,
 (46) सनत्कुमारकल्पे—fol. 89,
 (47) ब्रह्मसंहितायाम्—fol. 93,
 (48) प्रपंचसारे—fol. 112,
 (49) त्रिपुरासारे—fol. 122,
 (50) कुन्जिकातन्त्रे—fol. 129, 261,
 (51) महारुद्रयामले—fol. 130,
 (52) हंसमाहेश्वरे तंत्रे—fol. 131,
 (53) स्वच्छंदभैरवे—fol. 136,
 (54) कालीतंत्रे—fol. 169, 171, 191,

⁵ Aufrecht—CC1, 574—mentions one विद्यानंदनाथ as the author of two tantra works लघुपद्धति and सौभाग्यरत्नाकर (Burnell 208—MS. A.D. 1509).

- (55) वीरतंत्रे—fol. 169, 180,
- (56) नीलसारस्वततंत्रे—fol. 172,
- (57) सिद्धसारस्वते—fol. 184,
- (58) महाशक्ते—fol. 185,
- (59) मायातंत्रे—fol. 185,
- (60) मातृकार्णवे—fol. 186,
- (61) मावचूडामणौ—fol. 191,
- (62) चायुंढातंत्रे—fol. 205,
- (63) कुक्कुटेश्वरतंत्रे—fol. 207,
- (64) मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिकायाम्—fol. 220,
- (65) गारुडतंत्रे देवीश्वरसंवादे—fol. 233,
- (66) वदुकस्तोत्र—fol. 226,
- (67) मन्त्रतंत्रप्रकाशे—fol. 239,
- (68) कालिकापुराणे—fol. 241,
- (69) “इति गुरवः”—fol. 254,
- (70) भागवत षष्ठस्कंध—fol. 270,
- (71) पद्मपुराण—fol. 272
- (72) वसिष्ठसंहिता—fol. 304,
- (73) कुमारीतंत्रे—fol. 324,
- (74) उत्तरतंत्रे—fol. 334,

On folio 29 we find an author of the name राघवभट्ट⁶ who is, in my opinion, identical with राघवभट्ट the author of a Commentary on the *Śūradātīlaka*. This Commentary was composed in A.D. 1494. Subsequent references to राघवभट्ट (*vide* reference No. 32 in the above list) are made briefly as “इतिभट्टः”. If this identification is accepted we may fix the date of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya between A. D. 1494 and A.D. 1639, the date of the B. O. R. I. MS of the *Tantrasāra* analysed above.

According to Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya⁷ Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of the *Tantrasāra*, “can be confidently

⁶ This reference is found in the Oxford MS of the *Tantrasāra* (*vide* p. 95b of Aufrecht's *Cata. of Oxford MSS*, 1864).

⁷ *vide* p. 80 of *Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute*, Vol. X, Part II (July, 1942)—“Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of

placed in about A.D. 1607" because his *guru* Pūrṇānanda composed his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* in Śaka 1499 = A.D. 1577. Dr. Bhattacharya's date for Kṛṣṇānanda, *viz.*, "about A.D. 1607" is in harmony with the limits for the date of this author fixed by me (*Between A.D. 1494 and 1639*). It, however, conflicts with the date of a MS of the *Tantrasāra* recorded by Poleman.⁸ This MS is dated *Samvat 1586* = A.D. 1530. Presuming that this date is correct we have to fix the limits for the date of the *Tantrasāra* between A.D. 1494 and 1530. These limits harmonize with the dates of बासुदेवसार्वभौम as given in the *Madhyayugīna Caritra-kośa*,⁹ where we are told that our Kṛṣṇānanda was the pupil of बासुदेवसार्वभौम (C.A.D. 1550—1525). Dr. S. K. De¹⁰ in his recent book on *Vaiṣṇava Faith and More-*

Tantrasāra was a disciple of Pūrṇānanda, who in his turn was a disciple of Brahmānanda. Pūrṇānanda wrote a work, *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, which was composed in the Śaka year 1499, which corresponds to A.D. 1577. Kṛṣṇānanda, who is one generation later, can be confidently placed in about A.D. 1607."—Dr. Bhattacharya notes the following works mentioned in the *Tantrasāra*:—

भागमसार, भैरवीतन्त्र, एकवीराकल्प, गोविन्दहृन्दावन, हंसमाहेश्वर, भ्रगरत्नसंहिता, देव्यागम, गणेशविमर्शिणी, हंसपारमेश्वर, ज्ञानार्थव, क्रियासार, कुलामृत, कुलार्थव, कालिकापुराण, मत्स्यसूक्त, मुखमालातन्त्र, नवरत्नेश्वर, पिङ्गला, पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, श्रीक्रम, शारदातिलक, सिद्धयामल, समयतन्त्र, ताराप्रदीप, तत्त्वसार, वैराग्यायनसंहिता, विश्वसार, विशुद्धेश्वर, कुलचूडामणि, कुलावली, कुलोत्तर, कुञ्जिकातन्त्र, मालिनीविजय, निगमकल्पद्रुम, नीलतन्त्र, प्रपञ्चसार, रुद्रयामल, रत्नावली, सारसंग्रह, राक्तियामल, सिद्धसाररत्न, सम्बोहनतन्त्र, तन्त्रार्थव, तन्त्रराज, वाराहीतन्त्र, विष्णुयामल, यामल ।

⁸ Vide p. 218 of a *Census of Indic MSS in U. S. A. and Canada*, Newhaven, 1938—Poleman's entry reads as follows:—

"Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa.

4372. *Tantrasāra*. Bengali Script. 390 ff. 18×375. 8 lines. Sam 1586. Auf. I. 222. UP 765."

⁹ By Pt. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937—Page 730.

Farquhar (p. 289 of *Outlines*, etc.) puts बासुदेवसार्वभौम to the period "from 1470—1480" when he taught at Nuddea.

¹⁰ Published, Calcutta, 1942, page 21. Navadvīpa (modern Nadiyā) was a famous seat of mediæval Sanskrit learning. "It was also the stronghold of orthodox Brahmanism, as well as of Neo-Tāntricism and produced a stringen social dictator like Raghunandana as well as a champion of obscure Tāntric rites like Kṛṣṇānanda"—(*ibid.*, p. 23).

ment in Bengal states: "Kṛṣṇananda Āgamavāgīśa, the author of *Tantrasāra* and the great exponent of Tāntric doctrines in Bengal, is said to have been (like Raghunandana) a contemporary of Caitanya; and there can be hardly any doubt as to the widespread character of Tāntric teaching in Bengal." Later in the same book Dr. De refers to the tradition according to which Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma had 4 pupils:—(1) रघुनाथ शिरोमणि, (2) रघुनन्दन, (3) कृष्णानन्द आगमवागीश and (4) चैतन्य. Dr. De thinks that Caitanya's pupilship, even though plausible, appears to have no foundation in fact and that "रघुनन्दन and कृष्णानन्द belonged to much later times."¹¹

According to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri¹² Raghunandana "was a contemporary of Śrī-Caitanya and flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century. The period of his literary activity probably lay between 1520 and 1570." According to Dr. S. K. De Caitanya was born in *February, 1486* and passed away in June-July, 1533.¹³ Prof. Sri Ram Sharma¹⁴ includes Raghunandana¹⁵ in his list of Sanskrit writers of the reign of Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1542—1605).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65, footnote 2.

¹² *Ide* p. 132 of Appendix to the Edition of *Gaṅgāvr̥kṣā-ratī*, (Calcutta, 1940).—There is some contradiction in the extract, quoted above. "*Close of the fifteenth century*" would necessarily be before A.D. 1500 while Dr. Chaudhuri gives "*between 1520 and 1570*" as the period of Raghunandana's literary activity. This period falls in the 16th century.

¹³ *Ide*, pp. 51 and 76 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith*, etc.

¹⁴ *Ide* p. 156 of *Bibliography of Mughal India*, K. P. House, Bombay.

¹⁵ According to M. M. Prof. P. V. Kane Raghunandana flourished between A.D. 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity lies between 1520 and 1570.

The chronological data recorded in the foregoing discussion may now be tabulated as follows :—

A. D.	Remarks K = Kṛṣṇānanda, author of <i>Tantrasāra</i>
1486	Birth of Caitanya, who is supposed to be a contemporary of K and Raghunandana.
C. 1450 – 1525	Dates of Vāsudeva Sarvabhauma, supposed to be the <i>guru</i> of K.
1494	Date of सारदातिलकटीका by Rāghavabhaṭṭa who is mentioned by K in his <i>Tantrasāra</i> as pointed out by me.
1530	Date of MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> of K in U. S. A. according to Poleman.
1533	Death of Caitanya.
1520-1570	Literary activities of Raghunandana according to M. M. P. V. Kane and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. K is supposed to have been a contemporary of Raghunandana.
1542-1605	Dates of Emperor Akbar during whose reign Raghunandana flourished according to Sri Ram Sharma.
1577	Date of <i>Tattvacintāmaṇi</i> by पूर्वाचन्द्र, the <i>guru</i> of K according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya.
C. 1607	Date of K according to Dr. Bhattacharya.
1639	Date of B. O. R. I. MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> analysed in this paper.
1693	Date of a MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> of K with V. S. Pariṣat, Calcutta.
C. 1725	Date of Gauri-Kānta who quotes <i>Tantrasāra</i> in his commentary on <i>Anandulahari</i> (Oxford. 108b) MS of A. D. 1770.
1770	Date of another MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> with V. S. Pariṣat.
1812	Date of <i>Tantrasāra</i> of K according to Farquhar.

The chronology tabulated above will, it is hoped, help to clarify the problem of the exact date of the *Tantrasūtra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa, who can be definitely put *between*, say, A.D. 1500 and 1600 according to my data recorded in this paper. If the date A.D. 1530 of the MS of the *Tantrasūtra* as recorded by Dr. Poleman is correct it will clinch down the date of the *Tantrasūtra* between A.D. 1494 and 1530. I request Dr. Bhattacharya to examine the data recorded by me in this paper and see how far it could be reconciled with his date for Kṛṣṇānanda, viz., "about A.D. 1607."

IS CANDRA OF THE MEHRAULI PILLAR INSCRIPTION IDENTICAL WITH KANIṢKA?

By DASHARATHA SHARMA.

Writing in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has, explaining away all the difficulties caused by question of geography, religion and palæography, identified Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription with Kanishka, the well-known Kuṣāna Emperor, solely on the basis of the mention of one Candra-Kanishka in an old Ms. discovered in Central Asia. But the fact that Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription is described as having crossed the seven feeders of the Indus¹ and defeated the very people of whom, according to the Central Asian Ms.,² Candra-Kanishka was the king and among whom he is said to have risen is, in my opinion, a reason strong enough to discredit the identity of the two sovereigns proposed by the learned Doctor. Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription started his military operation from some base inside India, and Kanishka is, by the evidence of this Ms., which speaks of him as Candra-Kanishka, the king of Bāhlaka, shown to be an outsider, even though he might not be proved to have been a relative of Kadphises II.³

¹ तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता बाह्विः (Stanza 1).

² The two relevant extracts from the Central Asian MS. given by Dr. Majumdar are:—

(a) "in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, there was a king 'Chandra-Kanishka by name.'"

(b) "at that time in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, in Tokhāristān, there arose in the family of Imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious, intelligent king of Jambudvīpa, by name 'Chandra-Kanishka.'"

³ Some relationship is, however, suggested by the second extract from the MS. given above.

Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription defeated the Bāhlikas. Candra-Kaniṣka, on the other hand, was their ruler from the very beginning; according to the Khotanese Ms. he *arose* among them, though he was at the same time the sovereign of other parts of Asia. Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar was a *Vaiṣṇava*. Kaniṣka was perhaps a *Bauddha*. There is at least no inscriptional, numismatic or traditional evidence to prove that he was a supporter of any form of *Vaiṣṇavism*. So the supposed identity of Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription and Kaniṣka may be regarded as disproved from almost every point of view.

I believe the Mehrauli Pillar inscription to refer to some Gupta Emperor, most probably Candragupta II. My reasons for this view have been already stated elsewhere.⁴ What I wish to adduce as new evidence for my viewpoint are the following coin-legends of the Gupta rulers:—

1. Coin of Samudragupta (Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 21ff).

*Rajādhirajaḥ pṛthivīmaritrā
divaṁ jayatyapratirāryaṇīyāḥ.*

2. Coin of Kūcha (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 15ff).

*Kācho gāvamavajitya
divaṁ karmabhiruttamair Jayati.*

3. Coin of Candragupta II (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 35ff).

*Kṣitimavajitya sucharitair—
divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.*

Let one read these and then compare them with the following lines of the 2nd stanza of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription,

⁴ *Journal of Indian History*, XVI, pp. 13 ff.

*Khinnasyeva viṣṛjya gāṃ narapaterggāmāśrita-
syetarām*

*mūrtiā karmajitārūṇiṃ gataṇataḥ kīrtiā
sthitasya kṣitau,*

and see whether they do not reproduce just the ideas contained in the coin-legends. Here too the ruler is shown conquering both the worlds, the earth and heaven, and the means of conquest are the same. If no other evidence were forthcoming these coin-legends are, I believe, enough to prove that the Mehrauli Pillar too is a Gupta record. The records of the Kuśanas are not unknown. But does any of them reproduce anywhere the idea contained in this inscription? If they do not, what reasons can we have to assign to them, or for the matter of that, to any non-Gupta ruler?

INSTANCES OF THE AUXILIARY VERB IN THE SUTTANIPATA

By BABU RAM SAKSENA

The *Sutta-nipāta* (*Sn*) is quite an old text of the Pāli canon, as we find its commentary, the *Niddesa*, written in the 3rd cen. B.C., also included in the canon. Although the so-called auxiliary verb, such as *ucch-* < *ū-kṣi*, *catt-* < *ṛt-* and *as-* occur independently in many places in the texts of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), instances of their use as auxiliary are rare, particularly in the first sub-period (cir. B.C. 500 to A.D. 1) of MIA. In the circumstances, the following cases of the verb *as-* used as auxiliary in the *Sn*. will prove interesting:—

(a) *nāssu gacchanti* (did not resort to) vs. 291.

(b) *nāssu gāro haniṃsu* (did not kill cows) vs. 295,
vs. 297.

(c) *nāssu hiṃsanti* (do not injure) vs. 309.

In all these instances *nāssu* is clearly *na + assu*. What is this *assu*? Fausboll takes it to be a correspondent of Skt. *sma* (p. 33 *Sn. Index*). But I am afraid that his interpretation is not correct. The development of *sma*, as phonetically expected, should be *amha* or *asma*: compare the form of the Pre. I pl. *amha*, *asma* (Skt. *smah*). Moreover the particle *sma* in Skt. comes only after the forms of the Pre. tense while amongst the instances cited above we find one (b) after a form of the Past tense. Fausboll thinks that *assu* may also correspond with Skt. *su* or *scid* and in *Sn*. vs. 231 he breaks *tayassu* as *tay' assu* in spite of the clear interpretation given by the commentary (*Paramatthajotikā*):

*tayas su dhammā jahitā bharantīti ettha su iti pāda-
pūraṇamattē nipāto.*

The P. T. S. edition has rightly followed the lead of the commentary and accepted the reading *tayas su*. Similarly in *Su.* vs. 1032 also, Fausboll commits the mistake of breaking *kenassu* as *ken' assu*, taking *assu* as correspondent of Skt. *śīd*, a most unsatisfactory position since in the very next line of the verse *śīd* occurs as *su* which is phonetically correct. Therefore, *kenassu* should best be broken as *kena su*; the lengthening of *-s* to *-ss* is a common feature in Pāli texts in such positions.

In the instances under discussion, there is no possibility of *assu* being taken as *su* since *nāssu* must be broken as *na assu*. The commentary also does not appear to favour the interpretation of *assu* as *smu* since it says:—

nāssu gacchantīti neca gacchantīti (p. 317)

nāssu gāro hanim̐su te na te gāriyō mūresuṃ (p. 319)

If the commentary had favoured the interpretation of *assu* as *smu* it would have interpreted the Present (*nāssu gacchantī*) not as Present (*neca gacchantī*) but as Past (*ayamim̐su*).

This *assu* may correspond with either (1) *assu* (Imperative 3rd pers. pl. corresponding to Skt. Potential form *syuh*) or (2) *āsum* (Past 3rd pers. pl.). The latter is more likely. The form *āsum* may well have an emphatic form in *assu*. This has been used as auxiliary. It is curious that we find it with the conjugated forms *gacchantī*, *himsanti* and *hanim̐su*, while in New Indo-Aryan, the auxiliary comes with the Participle (Past or Present). The explanation might be that in early stages of a new development in a language, the position is shaky. It is possible that the use of the auxiliary began with the conjugated forms as well as the participles and later it survived only with the latter. We may compare the promiscuous use of the Genitive and the Dative cases in early MIA and the survival of the Genitive only, later. In the

cases under discussion, it may be surmised that the speaker felt the weakness of the position of the Principal verb and wanted to give it some support. Possibly various formations were requisitioned into use and one or two of them became stereotyped and survived.

The interpretation of *assu* as a form of *āsu*, *āsum* is supported by two other occurrences in Pāli literature. In the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* (No. 528) in vs. 159 (p. 241 of *Jātaka*, Vol. V) there is a passage

urabbharūpena rak'āsu pubbe

where for *rak'āsu* there is a variant reading *rakāssu*. The commentary takes *āsu* (*assu*) merely as expletive (*āsu ti nipātamattam*) but interprets it as *ahosi*. This *āsu* is clearly the pl. form of *ahosi*, and we find many instances in Pāli where a sg. noun has been used with a plural verb. Similarly in the *Latū-rimāna* (*Vimāna-ratthu* 32 vs. 4) there is a passage

visiṭṭhakallūṇitarassu rupato

where also the commentary (p. 135) takes *assu* merely as expletive (*assūti nipātamattam*) and says that there is a variant reading, viz., *tarāsi*. The P. T. S. and the Devanāgarī edition of the text, however, read *tarassa*, relying on some other manuscripts of Ceylon. In this instance also, to my mind, there is a clear case of a pl. form of the verb being used with a singular noun. In both these cases, of course, *assu* has been used as the Principal verb. This confirms the position that I have taken about the use of *assu* as auxiliary in the instances of the *Sa*. cited above.

It is possible that other instances of the use of the auxiliary verb lie hidden in the ancient MIA texts. If they come to the notice of scholars, the position is sure to become clearer.

ṢAṬ BHŪMIKĀ BY DARĀ SHIKOH

By TARA CHAND.

The manuscript contains 15 folios but the first folio is wanting. The leaves are 10" by 6½" in size and each page contains 19 lines. The writing is clear and legible, section or Chapter headings are in red ink.

At the end the following statement occurs:

تمام شد نسخه ست بهومیکا تصنیف شاهزاده کیوان جہاں
شاهزادہ دارا شکوہ^۲

The name of the copyist and date of writing are not given. Regarding the authorship of the manuscript there is no proof except the statement given above, that Dara Shikoh composed this piece.

Biographers of Dārā Shikoh do not mention *Ṣaṭ Bhūmikā* among his works, and the name does not occur in any catalogue of manuscripts. Dara usually styles himself فقیر بے اندوہ محمد دارا شکوہ (Faqīr-i-be andoh Muhammad Dārā Shikoh), but in this manuscript he is described as Shāhzāda Kaiwān Jahān (Prince of the world of Saturn), which is an unusual epithet.

The manuscript is divided into a series of six *Bhūmikā* (stages). The term *Bhūmikā* indicates a station on the mystic path and in the Yoga philosophy *Bhūmi* (*Bhūmikā*) means a plane of consciousness. It is in this sense that the term is used and its employment explains the subject-matter of the work, namely, that it is a treatise on Yoga.

¹ A manuscript from the library of the Gangamatha Jha Research Institute.

² Tamam Shud Nuskha-i-Ṣaṭ Bhūmikā tasnīf-i-Shāhzāda Kaiwān Jahān Shāhzāda Dārā Shikoh.

The first series of six *Bhūmikās* is incomplete as the first leaf of the manuscript is missing. The second series has the following captions:—

- (1) Good intentions (*Śubha icchā*), that is., desire for liberation.
- (2) Reflection (*Vicaraṇa*), i.e., belief in the existence (*Baḡā*) of God and the transience (*Fanā*) of the world, which produces detachment (*Vairāgya*).
- (3) Meditation (*Manana*), i.e., weakening of attachment for the satisfaction of senses and creation of love for the vision of the supreme spirit (*Paramātmā*).
- (4) Dream state (*Śvapana pada*), i.e., enquiry into the vision of the supreme spirit who comprehends all objects.
- (5) Detachment (*Asakti*), i.e., breaking relations with the body which is made of elements.
- (6) Attachment (*Bhārapadārtha*), i.e., enquiry as to the means of preventing vicissitudes in the vision of the supreme spirit.
- (7) The fourth station (*Turīya*), i.e., complete absorption in the vision of God.

A short account of these subjects will be of interest.

The first step on the path is that the seeker entertains the desire for release (*Mukti*) and aversion for the pleasures of sense. He then seeks a teacher and asks him how to cross the ocean of joy and sorrow and attain the shore of eternal bliss. The teacher tells him that the ship which will take him across is the name of God (*Paramātmā*). Although followers of different religions do not agree on this particular name, but there is one name

which is the same for all, namely, the Unuttered (*Ajapū*). The Quran indicates it when it says:

نفخت من بروحي
(*Nafakhtu Man Biruhī*)

The second step is to enquire from the teacher how to prevent the attractions of sense from drawing the heart away from God. The teacher will point out that this world is the realm of death (*Mritaloka*, *dāruḷfanā*) and it resembles a dream, for on waking no trace of it remains, and it is like wine which has the appearance of water but does not quench thirst. The heart of man is like the thirsty deer who in the hope of finding it runs after it and ultimately despairs of it. The poet says:

چيست دنیا از خدا غافل بودن نے قماش و نقرہ و فرزند و زن³

The pleasures of sense are like the deadly poison, and even an animal which possesses only one sense is destroyed by it. How much worse is then the condition of man who possesses five of them?

आल पतंग मृग मीन गज एक स्वाद जिहे दैन ।

जा में पाँचों बर्षे सो कहिहैं क्यों जैन ॥

The man who gives up these desires and engages in meditation of God, receives his reward from His Court.

The third step is for the seeker to enquire from his guide why in spite of the knowledge of the transitoriness of this world and meditation on *Paramātmā* the scent of sense impressions does not vanish and the desire for the pleasures of the world does not disappear. The teacher will tell him that in this condition it is necessary to seek the company of the pious and to serve them with devotion. He will thus acquire humility and harmlessness. When

³ What is the world? To be heedless of God; neither silk, nor silver, nor son, nor woman.

Chīst dunīya az Khudā ghafil budan

Ne qimāsh o nuqra o farzand o zan.

the seeker develops these virtues and ceases to hurt any living creature, his innerself is purified, and the love of God takes firm root in his heart.

At the fourth stage the seeker learns from the teacher that the reflection of God illumines the entire universe, but the physical eye is incapable of seeing Him. He is seen with the eye which sees reality, when one transcends the stages of form and shape. It is, therefore, necessary that the multiplicity of the universe should be removed and the mind should contemplate the reflection of God in all things, who is, however, apart from all of them. Thus should the seeker's heart be filled with love and friendship:

ब्रह्मन धर, चंडाल धर, दीप जेत उन्नियार ।
मोहन मने पतंग के, बसै जेत इकसार ॥

When this process illumines the heart, God throws open the windows of vision on him and the seeker is rewarded with the ineffable sight.

On attaining this stage the seeker still entertains some doubts. In order to remove them the teacher tells him that the true seeker is one who in the contemplation of God forgets his own self and retains no idea of the distinction between I and Thou:

मोहन लगन सनेह की जाके अंतर होय ।
सुख न रहे बस दुन्ह की कहाँ एक और देय ॥

It is, therefore, necessary that the rust of self should be removed from the mirror of the heart, and the soul should become completely absorbed in God. On learning this the seeker understands that without expelling every vestige of thought it is not possible to attain liberation. As we forget the waking state in sleep and the waking and the sleeping states in the state of dreamless sleep, it is clear that although the self is not as ignorant as it appears, its forgetfulness of reality is due to the association of the body. The self should realize that it is not the agent of

any activity and that it is God whose light illumines every heart and every limb.

रोम रोम मैं रम रहा, अजय दया कत थाह (!) ।

हैं नाहिं हौं, माह हौं हौं माहिं हौं नाय (ह?) ॥

At this stage the seeker says that although he receives the vision of God, but the vision is not continuous and the veil of self obstructs it now and again. It is then that the teacher points out that intellect is incapable of removing the veil and it is necessary to cultivate the passion of love. When the seeker's heart is filled with the love of God and disturbed with the pangs of separation, then God who is ever kind to His lovers and whose light is brighter than the light of thousands upon thousands of suns and moons, removes the veil from his face and throws the effulgence of His light upon him, so that he becomes absorbed in the vision, and then he exclaims:

تعال اللہ چہ دولت دارم امشب کہ آمد ناگہانی دالدارم امشب⁴

This condition is known as *Vikalpa-Samādhī*.

The last stage known as *Turiya* is one in which the absorption of the seeker is complete, no veils remain, and there is no vicissitude.

When by the grace of God the final realization is attained, then the seeker in his going and sitting, in his eating and drinking, in sleeping and walking remains absorbed in the vision of God, and does all these things as if he was living in a dream. Thus he becomes *Jiran-mukta* (liberated in life).

Whether the *Ṣaṭ Bhūmikā* is actually the work of Dārā or someone else, the fact remains that it breathes the broad and tolerant spirit that inspired Dārā in his

⁴ T'aal allāh chi daulat dāram imshab,
Ki āmad nāgahān dildāram imshab.

translation of the Upaniṣads and in the compilation of *Majma'ul Bahrain*. Whoever the author may be, he visualizes the goal of human endeavour to be absorption in the Supreme Soul and he realizes that the end can only be reached by following the mystic path of inner discipline and complete surrender to the will of God. He recognizes no differences of creeds and believes that Hinduism and Islam agree both as regards the Ultimate goal of life and the means of attaining it.

SOME DECISIVE GEOGRAPHICAL AND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE TO PROVE
THAT THE DATE OF THE WRITING OF THE
GĪTĀ BELONGS TO THE PERIOD OF 3000 B.C.
AND CONSEQUENTLY THE DATE OF THE
KURU WAR, BY CONNECTING IT WITH THE
FLOOD IN THE BIBLE, AND ALSO WITH THE
VANISHED SARASWATĪ RIVER AT
KURUKSETRA

By V. B. ATIAVALE.

[A summary of an essay on the date of the composition of the text of the *Gītā* read at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference at Benares, along with the epidiascopic projection of the archæological and geographical evidence to support the statement that the *Gītā* belongs to the period of 3000 b.c.

(A) A transliteration of *G* 15.8. 'a vital force is born with the body, lives with it and accompanies the person to the next world' is written in hieroglyph on an Egyptian statue of 2780 b.c. (B) In the excavations at Ur, near Basra, seals 5000 years old were found. The carving shows a tusked elephant and a bull tied to a sacrificial manger, thus revealing that they are from India. (C) The name of the town was 'ASURA', and the 16th ch. of the *Gītā* mentions 'people from the country Asura.' (D) Sauti, the author of the *Mahābhārata*, uses the word '*Yavana*' to mean foreigners. This word is clearly a phonetic transposition by Indians of the word IONIA, an old name of Greece current in 800 b.c. As the *Gītā* does not use this word, it is clear that it must be older than the *Mahābhārata*. (E) In the early Babilonian tablets of 2500 b.c. is found an inscription in cuneiform script a description of an old flood. The inscription consists of 12

small sentences. Curiously enough the word *YAJÑA* (a sacrifice) appears twice in the small document. (F) In the *Gītā*, too, the word *Yajñu* is used far in excess to that of the word *Dharma*. In the *Mahābhārata*, however, the word *Dharma* is very prominent and the word *Yajñu* is very rarely used. (G) In the tablet mentioned above a reference is made to a deluge continuing for six days. (H) In the *Mahā.* also there is a reference to a deluge for six days, and the Yādavas migrated to the Prabhāsa. (I) The date of the Babilonian flood can be archæologically fixed, because a single deposit 8 feet thick of clean water-laid clay was found below Ur. (J) In the *Mahā.* श्री० अ० ३ a vivid description of earthquakes is given. "Big rivers are flowing in the opposite direction. . . ." This is a very rare phenomenon associated only with earthquakes. (K) The flood at Ur and the disturbances at Hastināpur were simultaneous. For, both the places are in the same latitude and the mythological date of our deluge coincides with that given above. (L) When the war was going on, the Great-bear was in the star cluster *Maghā*. The period of rotation of the bear is 2800 years, i.e., 105 years per *Nakṣatra*. At present the bear is in *Kṛttikā*. Counting backward we know that it must have been in *Maghā* either 2200 or 5000 years ago. (M) We have a quotation of an old astronomer Garga, who says that in his time the bear was in *Maghā*, and 2566 years had elapsed since the crowning of Yudhiṣṭhira, proving 5000 to be a correct answer. |

First let us take a survey of the attempts made by others to fix the date of the war. The war continued for 18 days. On this point there is no difference of opinion. The month in which the war took place can also be determined correctly because in the *Mahābhārata* there are many references regarding the position of the planets in relation with the star groups (नक्षत्र) in the sky. How many years before the Christian era this war took place is how-

ever a very debatable point. For instance, in the 'symposium on the date of the *Mahābhārata* war' at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference, Benares (2-1-44), there were three papers which tried to settle the year through the astronomical references. Mr. Karandikar arrived at 1931 b.c. through his method. Dr. Daftari gives 1162 b.c. as the result he arrived at. Prof. Sengupta maintained that 2566 b.c. must be the correct year. It is clear from the varied results obtained that they are due to different interpretations of the astronomical references. The author of this article was present when the discussion was going on in the symposium. The discussion reduced to the interpretations of the references. No criterion can ever be given to prove that one interpretation is correct while the others are wrong.

The question became still more complicated when the discussion shifted to the point as to what part of the references should be called interpolations or later additions. As the problem is a historic one, there can be no compromise; and it can never be argued that all the solutions are equally true, nor can the mean of the two extreme values be regarded as nearer to the truth. Until a geographical or archaeological evidence is brought forth to support a certain date it must be admitted that the problem has not been solved.

Now let us turn to the attempts to settle the date of the *Gītā* by correlating it with other literatures of well-defined periods. The easy flow of the Sanskrit in the *Gītā*, the archaic forms of words violating the rigid grammar rules, do point to the fact that the Sanskrit was in common speech, and not a language of the learned only. The religious Sanskrit literature is divided into two groups (a) *Śruti*, and (b) *Smṛti*. The first is older than the second. The *Gītā* belongs to the second group. In this group there is a period called a *Sūtra* period. Pāṇini and Patanjali are two well-known authors of this period. The

date of Pāṇini has been accepted by all scholars to be between 800—500 b.c. As Patañjali has commented on the *Sūtras* by Pāṇini, the date of Patañjali is also accepted to be 100-150 years later than Pāṇini.

Pāṇini, while discussing the grammar of the names of revered persons mentions the names of Vāsudeva and Arjuna. This shows how revered the names were at the time of Pāṇini. There is also a Sanskrit lithic record of 300 b.c. in praise of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, at Hathi-bada, near Nagari, in the Udeipur State. This shows that Vāsudeva was deified at that time. By comparing the text of the *Gītā* with the *Yoga-sūtra* by Patañjali it can be shown that though the word *Yoga* is common in both of them, yet the *Gītā* uses the word *Yoga* in a far wider sense than that by Patañjali. Out of the first 70 *Sūtras*, 12 can be seen to have even a parallel word-grouping.¹ This proves that the text of the *Gītā* must be prior to Patañjali. On account of a single word '*Brahma-sūtra*' in the *Gītā* some scholars try to prove that the text of *Gītā* is later than the '*Brahma-sūtras*.' But as Buddhism has been directly referred to in the *Brahma-sūtras*, they are of the 250 b.c. period; and hence, the argument has no value in comparison with the documentary evidence given above.

¹ Patañjali :

1. 2 योगः चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः
- 1.12 अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः
- 1.13 तत्र स्थितौ यत्नः अभ्यासः
- 1.14 दीर्घकालनैरतयसत्कारासेवितः
- 1.16 तत्परं पुरुषस्यातेः गुणवैतृष्यं
- 1.23 ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा
- 1.27 तस्य वाचकः प्रथमः
- 1.28 तज्जपः
- 2.1 तपःस्वाध्याय-प्रणिधानानि क्रिया
- 2.7-8 सुखानुरागी रागः, दुःखानुरागी द्वेषः
- इहामुत्र फलभोगविरागः

Gītā

- चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया
- अभ्यासेन वैराग्येण च गृह्णाते
- अभ्यासयोगेन मां इच्छातुं
- अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः
- उत्तमः पुरुषः अन्यः परमात्मे०
- ईश्वरः सर्व...तमेव शरणं
- ओं इत्येकाम्बरं ब्रह्म
- यज्ञानां जपवज्रः
- यज्ञदानतपक्रियाः
- इन्द्रियभ्योन्द्रियवर्यार्थे रागद्वेषौ व्यव०,
- नेवेह नामुत्र विनाशः...इन्द्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यवत्

Loka. Tilak has already discussed the reference मासानां मार्गशीर्षे and has concluded on astronomical grounds that the text of the *Gītā* must be prior to 1400 b.c.

Mr. Telang and others have already observed the similarity of ideas and in some cases even the congruence of sentences, in the *Gītā* and the Upaniṣads like *Mundaka*, *Śvetāśvatara*, etc. This suggests that they belong to the same period.

Mundaka 1.2.7 (अष्टादशोक्तं अवरं येषु कर्म) refers probably to some book with 18 chapters. The peculiar word grouping 'अवरं कर्म' in the *Mundaka* and the *Gītā* strongly suggests that the two belong to the same period.

Upaniṣads are known to belong to the transition period between the *Śruti* and *Smṛti*. It is well known that the *Gītā* is called 'गीतासुपनिषत्'. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* is regarded by all the scholars to belong to the end of the *Śruti* period. From the reference कृत्तिकाः प्राच्यै दिशौ न व्यवर्ते Mr. Vaidya has shown that the *Śa. Br.* belongs to the period of 3000 b.c.

These attempts to shift the period of the *Gītā* from 300-to-3000 b.c. would appear to be vague, inconclusive, and even ridiculous as none of the dates is supported by archaeological evidence. The author of this article has however secured an archaeological evidence to prove that the text of the *Gītā* belongs to the 3000 b.c. period as follows:

(a) pp. 420, and 441 of *Nat. Geo. Mag.*, America, Oct. 1941, gives a photograph of a wooden statue from the Egyptian pyramid of the date 2780 b.c. Over the statue is the hieroglyph signifying that "a vital force was born with a person as a counterpart of the body, lived with it, and accompanied it into the next world." This has a remarkable congruence with the wording in the *Gītā* 15.8. 'शरीरं यत् अवाप्नोति; उक्तामंतं स्थितं'. The idea appears to have been transported *verbatim* from India. We are going to

prove below that there was a land connection between India and Iraq through Persia and also a sea route between the port Dwāarakā and Egypt and the cargo from India was gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks at the period of 3000 b.c.

(b) From our tradition we know that the Kuru war had taken place at the junction of Dwāpara and Kali-yuga. It means that after the war violent disturbances had taken place. Vāsudeva was in Dwāarakā, and a great sea wave attacked the port and the people were compelled to leave the place and they migrated to Prabhāsa. At Hastināpur, the capital of the king Yudhiṣṭhira, certain earth disturbances were actually felt. For in the *Mahā. mīmāṃsā* अ० ३ we get a vivid description of the things that were occurring. "Big earth-quakes are rocking the mountains, peaks are crumbling to pieces, big rivers are flowing in the reverse directions, . . ." This shows clearly that the epicentre of the quake must have been in the part of the Himālayas near Hastināpur. The big Saraswatī river which was flowing south-west on account of a tilt in its gradient stopped flowing and at Thāneśwar the river is at present merely a series of muddy lakes and pools. [For the photographs of these lakes and the legends associated with them, page 25 of the *Illustrated Weekly of India* (12-12-43), is worth seeing.] According to our traditional almanac the accession of the king Yudhiṣṭhira is nearly the same as that of कलियुग which is 5044 this year.

If the description of the earth disturbances on a vast scale be true we may expect a simultaneous and similar effects in the same latitudes. For instance, the latitude of Delhi is 30 and that of Basra is the same. But Basra being near the sea due to the earth disturbance a big sea wave is sure to rise and produce a deluge in the plane tract, the effect being similar to that at Dwāarakā.

In the *Nat. Geo. Mag. Ame.* Jan. 1930, there is an

article with the heading "*Excavations at the site of the city of Abraham (Ur) reveal geographical evidence of the Biblical story of the flood.*" P. 97, "The oldest traditions tell that Ur was among the first cities that had come into existence not long after the great floods." P. 120, "An early Babilonian tablet written in wedge-shaped cuneiform script, gives the description of the flood as 'Six days and nights raged wind, deluge, and storm over the earth. When the seventh day arrived the storm ceased. Hedges and fields had become like marshes. I opened a window and light fell on my face. . . I offered sacrifice (*Yajña*). The gods gathered like flies over the sacrifice. " P. 109, "The earliest certain date for the accession of the first king of Ur that can be arrived at is 3100 b.c. with a probable error of 100 years." P. 118, "A single flood deposit 8 feet deep of water-laid clay was found, and it was due to the great Biblical flood. As it was found just below the grave of the first king the date of the flood must be 3100 b.c." P. 110, "The extensive use of gold, silver, and gem stones in the articles found in the graves 5000 years old, clearly prove that the people must have connection with Egypt and India, for Iraq has no mines from which these could be obtained." P.123, miniature boats 5000 years old were also found.

From the archaeological evidence cited above and the geographical argument that the earth disturbances are simultaneous it is clear that our traditional date of (?) coincided with the date of the Biblical flood obtained from archaeological evidence. Now, we shall try to prove that it was the port of Dwārakā which was connected with Iraq and Egypt.

Gen. 10. in the *Bible* tells that only the family of Noah escaped out of the flood with the help of the Ark. Noah had a great-great-grandson called Ophir. Ophir is also an unidentified region famous in the *Old Testament*

for fine gold. Solomon's ships had started from Gaber and three years were occupied for the voyage to Ophir. The cargo brought was gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. We shall try to see if we can identify this unidentified region Ophir. The word 'ophir' is phonetically similar to ओषीर in Sanskrit, and it means people who keep cow-herds. We know that Kṛṣṇa is associated with cow-herds. The cargo tallies with the things available in the *Abhīra* region around Dwārakā.

Another striking archæological proof to support the above identification can be cited from an illustrated article in *Geo. Mag. Lond.* Aug. 1943. It says, "30 seals carved in Indian style were found in the city of Ur, and they were 5000 years old" P.176. The photograph of the seals shows a tusked elephant and a bull tied in a manger, the tusk proves that the cargo of ivory came from the Indus delta ports and the bull proves as to how the word 'ophir' lingered long in the *Bible*.

Still another strong archæological proof can be cited to show that the text of the *Gītā* is 5000 years old. In ch. 16.7., the *Gītā* gives the word *Asura* people (जनाः आसुराः असुर्यं अप्रति...) It may mean that the *Gītā* is quoting the opinion of the people from the country Asura. (Note:--- Like-----literature, the *Gītā* uses the word *Asura* to signify foreigners and not the word *Yavana*, which is used by Sauti in the *Mahābhārata*. The word *Yavana* is phonetically equivalent with the word Ionia, an old name for Greece. Even now the sea near Greece is called 'Ionian sea'). We know from the *Bible* (*gen.* 10) that Noah had grandson called Assur. It appears that he had created a town in his name in 3000 b.c. For, under the word Assur the *Enc. Br.* says, "It is the name of the ancient capital of Assyria, built on a rocky headland on the west bank of the Tigris, 40 miles above the mouth of the lower Zab. It is first mentioned in

the 46th year of Dungi of Ur 2396 b.c. where the name is written in the Sumerian ideogram 'AUSUR.' It might be argued that this contradicts the statement made above that the town Assur was established in 3000 b.c. But p. 114, *N.G.M.Am.* Jan. 1930 says, "After 600 years of darkness from its heyday in 3000 b.c. Nammu again revived it. This coincides exactly with the statement made. Another interesting point with regard to the word Assur is that while speaking about the sons and grandsons of Noah, the *Bible* suddenly changes to the date 2347 b.c. and gives the age of Noah as 600 when the grandson Assur was born. The 600 years of the darkness in the history of Ur coincides with the absurdity of the age of Noah as a human being.

We have seen that the description of the earth disturbances near Kuru, the flooding of Dwārakā, the vanishing of the Sarasvatī river, the flood deposits below Ur were all simultaneous events 5000 years ago. It can be also shown that Mexico in America in the same latitude as Dwārakā had also been disturbed simultaneously. P. 216, *N.G.M.* August 1939 says, "Maya start their calendar from an event 5000 years ago, which must be of tremendous significance to them." P. 107, *N.G.M.* July 1931, also says that a lava flow 5000 years old buried a Maya cemetery. In the *Mahābhārata* we get the word मयासुर. It is not the intention of the author of this article to prove from this citation that India had contact with America.

Rajeshwara Shāstri of Benares told the author of this article that Swāmī Bhārati Tīrth had got an information from America that there is a Maya inscription giving the story of a Kaurava who had gone there. How far the statement is authentic is a point not yet investigated.

ART AND OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD

By ASIT K. HALDAR.

As soon as the glamour of the Western Civilization subsided after the mid-Victorian age, we gradually began to realize that our Art and culture not only bore distinctive features of their own but had always been inspiring the world beyond. We became close students of our glorious past and conscious of its heritage. The historians of ancient and mediæval India told us that in those days India was not an isolated country that had always drawn in the horns like the tortoise. References to contacts with the foreigners can be found in the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini of the early sixth century B.C. and also in the *Manu-Saṃhitā* where the *Yavanas* who came to the Brahminical India in the remote ages are mentioned. With the discovery of the various sites at Mohenjo-Daro, Chanho-Daro and Harappa in Sind, Paithan, Maski and Ter at Hyderabad-Deccan, the history of ancient India has been pushed back to 3000 B.C. or even earlier. There we come across a distinct type of Vedic Civilization which was very highly developed indeed. The glazed potteries, copper utensils, terra-cotta figurines, beads, stone and glass bangles, architecture, including bath and sanitary system, shows the life that those people lived was never devoid of art or the æsthetic sense. The marvellous seals in terra-cotta reliefs of Mohenjo-Daro display the earliest school of Indo-Aryan sculpture. They can be compared favourably with the animal figures carved out on the capitals of Aśoka's pillar at Sarnath of the third century B.C. Both are treated very naturalistically. Mohenjo-Daro rhinoceros, bulls, tigers were represented almost in a life-like manner. Obviously such a culture could not have been confined within the limits of the area excavated. It spread

itself beyond the Sind. Modern scholars find similarities between the culture of Sind and that of the distant land of Sumeria.

The later Buddhist civilization of India had a great influence over the cultural movement in Asia. We know how pilgrims and pupils would undertake the risky journey across the Himalayas to learn the secret of India's greatness. Along with the Buddhist religion the early Chinese pilgrims took back with them the art of India to the Far East. From the famous Universities of Nālanda, Taxilla, Sarnath and many other ancient monasteries and temples, art, philosophy and literature developed and spread throughout the Asiatic Continent. Learned scholars and artists of China, Japan, Korea, Sumatra, Java and Bali came as pupils and left authentic records of their pilgrimages. Whatever they carried with them were assimilated in their soil. But they also retained the mark of their original spirit as we find so clearly in the Indonesian art of Siam, Cambodia, Java, Bali and Sumatra. The result was that in the Indonesian art of Java we see the great stamp of India's contribution as in Baroboduor sculpture and in Balinese temples in the Thousand Buddha temple sculptures and paintings in Honan, in the Ankor Vat, which is certainly the greatest architectural monument of the world. With the exploration of the Śrī-Devī temple in Cambodia many sculptures of Indian origin have been found. They are preserved in the Bongkok National Museum. They are pre-eminently of the Vaiṣṇava origin. Though the official religion of Khmer was Hinduism, Mahāyāna Buddhist faith which blended peculiarly with the former was tolerated. The earliest Indian influence in art there, could be traced as far back as seventh century, and wave after wave of direct influence by the Indian culture can be perceived subsequently.

In the Chinese Turkisthan in Khotan and Miran the graphic art of India spread and we get examples of paintings on silk still surviving the ravages of time. This also shows the vitality of Indian art. We still wonder how our art-motifs, our technique, our principles of creation could flourish in the foreign lands and after what may be called transplantation in difficult territory.

Naturally such a phenomenon requires explanation. The cultural expansion of India into greater India was mainly due to the spiritual fact that India always tried sincerely to get into the spirit of the cosmic reality and that she was never content with the surface value of life. Our artist-philosophers have always preached the openness of life, though they never understood it in terms of material success. Before the days of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja there were no restrictions imposed by the caste and creed and people could travel into distant lands to preach the gospel of Buddha. They went to Ceylon, China, Afganisthan wherever they wished to and left their marks in the shape of architecture, sculpture and painting. It will be wrong to consider the culture-contact as a single track journey. India also gained immensely. There are many beautiful things in the art-history of our country which came from outside. We were never weak to discard anything good because it was foreign. We were young, bold, vigorous and expanding. Thus Candra Gupta I could erect a replica of the Persipolitan architecture in his capital Pāṭaliputra. It was a magnificent palace. We still cannot imagine how it was possible to carve and build hundred stone pillared hall with highly glazed surface when steam, gas or electricity were unknown as motive power to do such jobs.

From the Buddhist chronicles we know that Mahendra invaded Ceylon and King Tishya of Ceylon established good relations with India after being initiated in the

Buddhist faith himself. So we see the glorious examples of Indo-Buddhist sculpture and architecture in Anurādhā-pura ruins which inspired the later major and minor arts of Ceylon.

I have so far taken examples from ancient India. But it would be wrong to think that India ceased to grow after the downfall of Buddhism. In the time of the Moghul Emperors too Indian art kept up its great traditions and we know that the famous court-artist Bishan Das was specially commissioned by Shah Abbas I in Iran to paint his likeness. In the West artists like Rembrandt, were eager to collect specimens of Moghul miniatures in those days which are still preserved at Schoenbraunn palace in Vienna and at Bodlean Library at Oxford. The Moghuls contributed not only to the art of painting, but also to the architecture of India --the Indo-Saracenic type of which the Tajmahal stands up to this day as one of the greatest architectural monuments of the world. To mention only few of them, the granite mausoleum of Sher Shah at Saseram, Adil Shah's famous mausoleum in Bijapur with largest single dome of the world, Akbar's picturesque Fatehpur and Delhi fort palaces are buildings of which any country can be proud.

After the downfall of the Moghul Empire, the vitality of the country seems to have been reduced. So when India resumed contact with the outside world, the immediate effect was an indifference to, if not a wilful neglect of, her genius. Educated people began to ape foreign manners and reject the traditional values of our art. But by the beginning of this century, Lord Curzon turned the attention of all thinking people to the glory, the beauty and the significance of India's monuments. As yet, the interest was still archæological. It was left to Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore to raise the level of that interest into one of deep appreciation of the spirit of

Indian culture and along with his disciples, worked through art to achieve that end. And their attempt was indeed successful. Now it was no longer possible to condemn Indian painting as being primitive in its absence of naturalistic rendering through the science of perspective and anatomy. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove that Indian painting, Music and other fine arts have influenced modern Euro-American art as they too have begun to seek primarily idealism rather than naturalism. If the main influence of India on Europe and America in the 19th century came from philosophy, in the 20th century it pours out through Art.

To conclude this hasty survey, every nation has got its own physical and mental features. Art cannot grow without a vigorous life around; it is life that moulds the artform of every country. Therefore, the individual merits and demerits can be adjudged only when we know the process of evolution and achievements of the country's culture. India has her own heritage and the world has profited by it. To-day more than ever, the world should know more about India's legacy and we the dwellers of Hindusthan be possessed by it. For we feel that India's message of peace by a cultivation of the soul which she has so long conveyed through her art and culture has to be learnt by the world, sooner than later. If in the ancient and mediæval times India was the hub of Asiatic culture, in the modern period she has a larger part to play, a greater and much richer contribution to make to the world as a whole. And we are strongly of the opinion that such a contribution will come mainly through India's Fine Arts.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ADHYATMARAMĀYAṆA*

By RAGHUVARA MITTHŪLĀL SHĀSTRĪ

नत्वाज-भ्यास-तत्पुत्र-शङ्कर-श्रीधरोत्थिताम् । हेमाद्रिवोपदेवाभ्यां मधुसूदनमागताम् ॥
शिवध्यानानुगुण्येन रामानन्दप्रकाशिताम् । परात्मज्ञानपक्षीयाऽनन्यभक्तिपरम्पराम् ॥

अध्यात्मरामायणकर्तृगोचरः कश्चिद् विचारो गमितो वचःपथम् ।
विद्वद्भिरद्यावधि नेति चिन्तया प्रस्तूयतेऽद्यैव मनोहरो मया ॥

The *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* is generally believed to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*¹ having Vyāsa for its traditional author. But as yet no MS of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* containing it has been discovered. The printed *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has got nothing of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, not even the *Māhātmya-sarga* which claims to belong to the *Uttara-khaṇḍa* (!) of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The *Nāradyāpurāṇa*,² too, in its description of the contents of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, makes no mention of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* or its *Māhātmya*. The late Paṇḍita Jvalāprasada Miśra of Moradabad (U. P.), in his *Aṣṭādśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*,³ mentioned the

* Paper read in the Sanskrit Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares H. U., on December 31, 1943. For references the Niruaya Sagar Press (Bombay) text edition may be consulted.

¹ Rājendralal Mitra: *Notices of Skt. MSS* Vol. IV, p. 94 (No. 1501); G. Oppert: *Lists of Skt. MSS in Private Libraries of Southern India*, Vol. II (Madras, 1885), Nos. 4453, 10076, etc.; cf. *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, *Māhātmya-Sarga*, verse 29, where it is called *Purāṇottama* (best of the Purāṇas), and *Adi-kāṇḍa*, sarga i, verse 3, where it is praised as *sarva-purāṇa-sammata* (honoured of all the Purāṇas).

² I, 109.

³ Śrīvenkateśvara Press, Bombay, Samvat 1962, p. 414.

Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa as one of the numerous Apocrypha of this *Purāṇa*, of which he has named over 85, and remarked that the majority of them were modern works and that there would remain no quarrel if they were said to belong to the *Upa-* (Minor) *Purāṇa* rather than the *Mahā-* (Major) *Purāṇa* of that name. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his *Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*,⁴ wrote as follows :—

“There is a work, entitled the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which Ekanātha [see his *Bhācārtha-Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇyaka-kūṇḍa*], a Mahārāṣṭra saint, who flourished in the sixteenth century, calls a modern treatise, composed of excerpts from older writings and having no pretence to be considered as emanating from the old Ṛṣis.”

Lala Baijnath in the Introduction to his English translation⁵ of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* wrote :—

“The *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* is a canonical book of the Vaiṣṇavas and is a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*. It is very highly respected by all classes of Hindus for the beauty of its language, its flow of verse, its clear statement of the doctrines of the Vedānta, and like the *Bhagavad-gītā*, for its combination of the path of devotion with that of knowledge The language of the book though not the simple language of Vālmīki, often rises to eloquence especially in its devotional portions and the sonorous flow of its verse lends it quite a unique charm. Nothing is known of its author or as to who he was or where he flourished. The internal evidence furnished by it however points out to a modern origin, after the system of worship inculcated by the Tantras had come into vogue. So far as one could see from its language and trend of thought it appears to be posterior even to the *Śrīmad-*

⁴ *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

⁵ In the “*Sacred Books of the Hindus*” (Extra Volume) Panini Office, Allahabad, 1913, p. i.

Bhāgavata, the other canonical work of the Vaiṣṇavite sect, written about the 14th century."

The popular title of the work is *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*^a; but it calls itself not infrequently by other names⁷ as well.

Now, there is a part of the *Bhṛīṣyapurāṇa*, called the *Pratisargaparvan*, known also to the *Nārādīya-purāṇa*, which describes the contents of all the 18 Major *Purāṇas* in its 18 chapters.⁸ But unfortunately I have not as yet come across the original *Pratisargaparvan*. It may or may not be the one noticed by the late Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Śāstrī.⁹ The Bombay edition of the *Bhṛīṣyapurāṇa*, however, includes the *Kaliyugaṇīti-kūsa-samuccaya* alias *Caturyuga-khaṇḍa* in 4 parts, claiming to include 7000 *ślokas* (by real counting 5997 verses) in all and, as denoted by its colophons, purporting to belong to the *Pratisarga-parvan*, which is published from a single MS¹⁰ belonging to Thākur Mahān-chandra, Rais of Amritsar (Panjab).

Notwithstanding the question of its genuineness, this pseudepigraphic *Pratisargaparvan*, in places, contains

^a In all the colophons; as also in 17 places of its *Māhātmya-sarga* from v. 20 to v. 59; and in three other places of the main work, viz., in I. i. 4, VI. xvi. 41 and 48, besides I. i. 3 and VI. xvi. 35, where it is called *Adhyātmika-Saṁjñita Rāmāyaṇa*.

⁷ *Adhyātma-Rāmācarita* in three places, viz., in the *Māhātmya-sarga*, v. 60, and in I. ii. 4 and VI. xvi. 44; simply as *Adhyātma-Rāma* in two places, viz., in I. i. 5 and VII. ix. 72; merely as *Rāmācarita* throughout the whole work in its *Tāntrika* introductions of individual books as well as of chapters, which, in their beginning, give also the name of *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, the last book, anyhow, containing no such *Tāntrika* introductions; and noteworthy *Adhyātmika-Rāma-Saṁhitā* in VI. xvi. 38 and *Adhi-Rāma-Saṁhitā* in VI. xvi. 39,—the word *Saṁhitā* in the last two names justifying Sir Bhandarkar's quotation of Ekanātha's words, "composed of excerpts from older writings . . ."

⁸ I. 92—109.

⁹ *Catalogue of Skt. MSS*, A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 3738.

¹⁰ Publisher's Notice in Sanskrit, in the beginning of the printed *Pratisargaparvan*; and *Aṣṭādāśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*, p. 251.

valuable information not available from any other source. As, for instance, it¹¹ says that Jivānanda and Rūpānanda became the disciples of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Śāntipurī and came to be honoured by all; and, at his command, Jīva wrote the 6 *Sandarbhās* (sc. of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*), and Rūpa composed the *Kṛṣṇa-Khaṇḍa* of 10,000 (*ślokas*), forming part of the Purāṇa, sitting at his feet and worshipping Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Thus, we learn that the real author of the present *Śrīkṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa*, an important part of the *Brahmavaiṇarta-purāṇa*, was Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and not Vyāsa as is generally believed. This information gets full corroboration from the results of modern research.¹²

Similarly, it tells¹³ us that one Rāmaśarman who dwelt at Kāśī was a devout worshipper of Śiva. To him the God appeared on the Śivarātri and was pleased to grant him a boon. The devotee asked for the dwelling in his heart of the Deity on whom Śiva pondered in his

¹¹ IV. xix. 33-39.

¹² *Īstāḍaka-purāṇa-darpaṇa*, pp. 271-273; and Dr. R. C. Hazra's *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Dacca, 1940), p. 166.—“The *Brahmavaiṇarta purāṇa*.—This voluminous work, which consists of four parts, viz. (I) *Brahma-Kh.*, (II) *Prakṛti-kh.*, (III) *Gaṇapati-Kh.*, and (IV) *Kṛṣṇa-Janma-Kh.*, glorifies Kṛṣṇa and identifies him with the supreme Brahman. It seems to have been meant for preaching the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā”

“A perusal of the *Brahmavaiṇarta p.* shows that it is one of the latest of the extant Purāṇic works. Jogesh Chandra Roy has carefully examined this Purāṇa and come to the conclusion that it was first composed most probably in the 8th century A.D. From about the 10th century it began to be changed by the interfering hands of the Bengal authors who recast it to its present form and contents in the sixteenth century. In spite of this late recast, there are portions which have been retained from an earlier form of the Purāṇa.

“ . . . the Purāṇa with its present contents was not known to the writers of even the sixteenth century A.D., and that all the Smṛti-chapters, except IV, 8 and 26, are very late additions”; and p. 167,—“ . . . it seems highly probable that before 700 A.D. there existed a *Brahmavaiṇarta* which is now lost.”

¹³ IV. xix. 21-32.

meditations. Śiva gave him the meditation on Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa and worship of Balabhadra and then disappeared. He (the devotee) was (became) Rāmānanda¹⁴ (*lit.*, one exulting in Rāma), and coming to Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of 12 years' age became his disciple; and, at the latter's instance, he composed the auspicious *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*.

Divested of its figmentary element, the story means that Rāmānanda of Kāśī, immediately after his conversion from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism and before instituting his own sect of Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavas, composed the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*. His going to Caitanya or becoming the latter's disciple is a pure invention typical of the comparatively modern author of the 4th *Khaṇḍa* of the present *Pratisargapracaṇ*, who, to all intents and purpose, was writing everything only to glorify Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. Reading this *Khaṇḍa* closely, one finds that every now and then a religious teacher or author of note is made to pay a visit to Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya¹⁵ at Śāntipur^{15a}-Nadīhā (*i.e.*, Nadia in Bengal) in a certain year of the latter's life and, in the capacity of his disciple, to take orders from him, irrespective of the fact that the two could be contemporaries or not.

Thus, from this as well as from Ekanātha's evidence, we come to know that the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* was

¹⁴ Evidently, the reading '*Rāmānandasya*' (xix. 31), which gives no sense in the present context, is a printer's devil for '*Rāmānandasau*'; cf. '*Viṣṇusvāmī-sa*' (xix. 40), '*Jayadevasa*' (xix. 46), '*Bhaṭṭojisa*' (xx. 1). '*Rāmānujas-sa*' (xiv. 87), etc.

¹⁵ *Īśvara* [Purī, vii. 31—34], xix. 6—13; *Ropāṇa*, xix. 2—4 and xx. 65—66; *Śrīdhara* [Svāmin], xix. 14—20; *Viṣṇu-Svāmin*, xix. 40—47; *Madhvācārya*, xix. 48—66, *Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita*, xx. 1—10; *Varāhamihira*, xx. 11—21; *Vāṇībhūṣaṇa*, xx. 22—35; *Dhanvantari*, xx. 36—45; *Jayadeva*, xx. 46—62, etc. For *Yajñānśa Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya*, see also ix. 66; x, particularly 32—33; the last part of xx; xxi. 1, (2—35,) 36—37, 38—44, 51, 80; xxii. 5, 48—50; xxiii. 18, 76; and xxiv. 59—61.

^{15a} iv. 24; vi. 61; xvii. 88 and xxi. 37; xix. 7, 20, 33, 40, 48; xxi. 77; xxii. 5, 50; and xxiv. 59.

not a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa* or any other *Purāṇa* written by Vyāsa or was not the work of any other Ṛṣi of ancient times, but is a comparatively modern work, and, from this single source, that its author was one Rāmaśarma or Rāmānanda, who lived at Kāśī and formerly worshipped Śiva and latterly became a Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava.

But how, it might be asked, can, in view of the fact that there were more than one Rāmānanda, the authorship of this work be ascribed to the great Vaiṣṇava teacher and not to anyone else from amongst his namesakes? Besides one Rāmānanda [Rāya], a follower of Caitanya himself, nine others are mentioned by T. Aufrecht.¹⁶ The reply would be that we cannot think of Caitanya's Rāmānanda who was an Oriyā Kṛṣṇaite^{16a} and not a Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa of Kāśī; and all others, too, should be rejected on account of the clear indication in this part of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* as well as in the life of the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya that none else can be connected with the origin of the work in question.

In connection with Rāmānanda's birth this *Khaṇḍa* (IV)¹⁷ tells us that the Sun-god concentrated His mass of lustre at Kāśī and therefrom was Rāmānanda born of Devala, a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa. The boy, from his very infancy, was a *jñānin* (sage) devoted to the name of Rāma; and, (therefore) being left by his parents, he resorted to Rāghava (meaning Rāma as well as Rāghavānanda Svāmin) as his refuge. Then, Lord Hari, the Lord of Sītā, having 14 digits, Himself, gladly adopted residence in his heart. It¹⁸ also says something about the leanings of Rāmānanda towards the Śāṅkara school of

¹⁶ *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pp. 520-521.

^{16a} Originally hailing from Vidyānagara in Central India (see D. C. Sen: *Chaitanya and His Companions*, pp. 89-100).

¹⁷ vii. 52-56.

¹⁸ (1) xiv. 87-118, and (2) xviii. 53-55.

Philosophy in two places. (i) Rāmānuja was born in the house of Ācāryaśarman of the South and was a younger brother of Rāmaśarman. The latter who was a follower of Patañjali, *i.e.*, a Yogin, happened, in connection with pilgrimage, to come to Kāśī, where surrounded by his 100 disciples he started a discussion with Śaṅkarācārya. Defeated by the latter he returned home, full of shame and feeling the pinch of (insult inflicted by) Śaṅkara's words. Rāmānuja who was well versed in all the śāstras, came to Kāśī, surrounded by the disciples of his brother; and a discussion in the Vedānta-śāstra ensued between him advocating Kṛṣṇa and Śaṅkara pleading for Śiva. Śaṅkara was defeated by Rāmānuja in all the śāstras on whichever he took his stand one after another, *viz.*, in the Vedānta, Bhāṣya, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Yoga and Sāṅkhya; and ultimately being ashamed he adopted white garment and, becoming a disciple of Rāmānuja, was purified by muttering the name of 'Govinda' in his heart. The above story, a pure myth coined by the author, if it means anything, only shows the triumph of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* over the Advaita Philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya to which even Rāmaśarman or Rāmānanda, though himself a great advocate of *Bhakti* and claimed by his sect to have owned an older tradition of Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas (all of whom originally belonged to the South) than Rāmānuja's, had simply to yield. (2) Raidāsa, son of Mānadāsa, a cobbler, coming to Kāśī and there defeating Kabīra, a devotee of Rāma, went to Śaṅkarācārya for a discussion, which took place between them for a whole day and night. Raidāsa, being defeated by and paying obeisance to that leader of the Brāhmaṇas (*i.e.*, Śaṅkarācārya), came to Rāmānanda and became his disciple. This story, too, like the previous one, proves greater affinities of Rāmānanda with the Vedānta of Śaṅkarācārya than with any other form of it preached by the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas.

The description of Rāmānanda in many other places of this *Khaṇḍa*, unmistakably establishes his identity. Trilocana,¹⁹ Nāmadeva²⁰ who constructed a *ghāt* at Kāśī with ½ crore of coins he got from Sikandara the Sultān of Delhi, and Naraśrī (Narasī or Naraśimha Mehtā) of Gurjaradeśa²¹ are described as coming to Kāśī and there becoming the disciples of Rāmānanda. Similarly, Rāmānanda is said to be the preceptor of Raṅkaṇa,²² Kabīra²³ whose disciple was the butcher Sadhana²⁴, Pipā²⁵ and Nānaka²⁶. Like Nimbāditya (Nimbārka), Viṣṇu-svāmin, Madhvācārya, Śaṅkarācārya, Varāhamihira, Vāṇibhūṣaṇa, Dhanvantari, Bhaṭṭoji, Ropana and Jayadeva respectively at Kāñcī, Haridvāra, Mathurā, Kāśī, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, Utpalāranya, Iṣṭikā (? Etawah), and Dvārakā, a disciple of our Rāmānanda at Ayodhyā is said to have upset the *Yantra* originally set up at 7 religious cities and perhaps later on fixed also at every one of the above-mentioned towns by Sukandara, the king of Mlecchas, for converting the Āryas who happened to pass under it into Mlecchas, and, thus, to have brought back such people to the Hindu fold.²⁷ And in this connection the followers of Rāmānanda and Nimbāditya are said to have been of two kinds,—(1) Āryas who were the chief followers called *Vaiṣṇavas* and (2) Mleccha reconverts to Hinduism who were called *Saṃyogins*.²⁸ Again, from amongst the

¹⁹ xv. 64—67.

²⁰ xvi. 51—55; xx. 64-65.

²¹ xvii. 60—66.

²² xvi. 81.

²³ xvii. 40.

²⁴ xviii. 50-51.

²⁵ xvii. 83-85.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

²⁷ xxi. 45—75.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 54-55 and 58.

20 disciples of Mukunda Brahmācārin, while, after their self-immolation and rebirth with their preceptor reincarnated as Emperor Akbar²⁹, 7 of them adorned the latter's court³⁰ and 13 went to different places,³¹ there were 5 who are said to have joined the sect of Rāmānanda. Thus (1) Śrīdhara was born as Anapa's son, Tulasīśarman, the renowned poet, well-versed in the Purāṇas, who, accepting the advice of his wife, came to Rāghavānanda and, assuming the discipleship in the sect of Rāmānanda, settled at Kāśī³²; (3) Śambhu was born as Haripriya (*lit.*, dear to Hari) in the race of Candrabhaṭṭa and established himself in the sect of Rāmānanda, always singing the praises of the devotees³³; (4) Varenya was born as Agrabhuk (perhaps the same as Svāmī Agradāsa), always engaged in knowledge and meditation, who was a poet of *Bhāṣā* metres and got settled in the sect of Rāmānanda³⁴; (5) Madhuvratī was born as Kīlaka, who instituted (or wrote) *Rāmālīlā* and got settled in Rāmānanda's sect³⁵; and (6) Vimala was born as Divākara by name who, wise as he was, instituted (or wrote) *Śītālīlā* and got settled in Rāmānanda's sect³⁶.

According to Macauliffe (*Sikh*, VI, p. 100), Rāmānanda was born at Mailkōt in Mysore. Similarly, in J. N. Farquhar's opinion Rāmānanda originally belonged to the South and "migrated to North India about A.D. 1400(?) and there preached to men of all castes using the

²⁹ xxii. 9—17.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 20—26.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

³² *Ibid.*, 27—29. The second disciple did not belong to Rāmānanda's sect.

³³ *Ibid.*, 30—31.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 31—32.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 32—33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 33—34.

Vernacular in every thing.”³⁷ All other accounts agree in fixing his birth-place at Prayāga, wherefrom he, at an early age, went to Kāśī and settled there.³⁸ Dr. P. D. Barthwal writes as follows:—

“ According to *Bhuriyottara-khaṇḍa*, a later addendum to the *Agastya-Saṁhitā* . . . Rāmānanda was born at Allahabad in 1299 A.D. and died in 1410 Rāmānanda is said to have first received instruction from a Śaṅkaran Advaitist but was later transferred to Rāghavānanda, the Rāmānujan Viśiṣṭādvaitist, whose miraculous Yogic powers are said to have saved him from impending death. *Siddhānta-paṭala*, a small work attributed to Rāmānanda and represented to have been addressed to him by Rāghavānanda, evinces a perfect commingling of Yoga and Vaiṣṇavism; and the ashes, the burning fire, the *trikuṭī* are mentioned in it side by side with Basil (*tulasī*) and Śālagrāma.³⁹

“ Rāmānanda . . . is said to have come of a high Brāhmaṇa family of Prayāga. He was educated at Benares, his favourite subject being the Śaṅkaran Advaitic Philosophy. But he received the orders of renunciation at the hands of Rāghavānanda, a Viśiṣṭādvaitin saint in the direct descent of Rāmānuja's discipleship, who is said to have saved his life through his occult powers.⁴⁰

“Rāghavānanda was a great Yogin who is reputed to have saved Rāmānanda's life through his Yogic powers . . . Rāmānanda is himself reputed in his sect to have been a

³⁷ *The Crown of Hinduism*, p. 387; see also *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 324.

³⁸ Sir R. G. Phendarkar, quoting from a MS of the *Agastya-saṁhitā* in his *Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*, pp. 93—95; Dr. P. D. Barthwal in his *Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*, p. 249; Shāli-grāma Shrivāstava in his *Prayāga-pradīpa*, p. 30.

³⁹ Barthwal: *Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*, p. 249.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

great Yogin. The two currents [sc., spiritual realisation and 'Yogic practices as a help to spiritual realisation' (p. 196)] thus met in Rāmānanda.⁴¹ . . .

"It was in Rāmānanda that Nāthism and Vaiṣṇavism discernibly met. [In support of this *Siddhānta-paṭala* . . . may be cited in which Vaiṣṇava Śāligrāma is enthroned in the *Yoga Trikuṭī*.]⁴²

"Rāmānanda prescribed the Śāligrāma for exactly the same purpose.⁴³

"In what of the *Aikāntika-dharma* came to Rāmānanda, *Premā-Bhakti* was considered the crowning of all the nine aspects of *Bhakti* and was therefore called the *Daśadhā Bhakti*.⁴⁴

" . . . *Premā-Bhakti* and *Adhyātma-vidyā* appear to be the two sides of the same shield . . . And for this they are directly indebted to Rāmānanda.⁴⁵

" . . . Still Śāṅkarism did influence the general thought of the people and in the end penetrated the Vaiṣṇava fold itself . . . In North India Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita lost its acrimony and the Advaita *Guru* of Rāmānanda gave his illustrious disciple to Rāghavānanda, the Viśiṣṭādvaitin, who had saved the boy's life through his Yogic powers. The change of masters does not appear to have involved a break with the principles of philosophy that Rāmānanda devotedly learnt during his early years. He seems to have adopted the Vaiṣṇava *Bhakti* only to fit it into the Advaita system of Śāṅkarācārya. The rupture that he had with the sect of his new *Guru* must have some connection with his philosophic leanings also. Thus did monistic pantheism and the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vi, text and footnote 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

love of a personal God, the essential characteristic of Vaiṣṇavism, join hands in Rāmānanda."⁴⁶

Mr. Shāligrāma Shrivastava writes as follows: "In his (*i.e.*, Alāuddīn Khiljī's) reign, about 1300 A.D., was born at Prayāga the famous Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Svāmī Rāmānanda, who afterwards went to Kāśī and becoming an ascetic settled there;" and again, in the footnote, "He was a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa. His previous name was Rāmadatta. Receiving ordinary education, at the age of 12 years he went to Kāśī for special higher studies."⁴⁷

From the above account of his life it will be amply made clear that the author of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* could be no other person than the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Rāmānanda, and that it is he who, in the Bombay edition of the *Bharīṣyapurāṇa*, is described both as Rāmaśurman as well as Rāmānanda and both as living at Kāśī as well as coming from the South like Rāmānuja. The readers have to take the implied meaning of the descriptions of this *Purāṇa-khaṇḍa* rather than its words at their face value.

Now, among the later *Upaniṣads* there is one called the *Rāmatāpanīya* or *Rāmatāpa* (? *pīṇī*). Unlike the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which, perhaps owing to its blending of the *Advaita Vedānta*, the former creed of their teacher, with *Rāmabhakti*, was ignored by the majority of Rāmānanda's followers, this *Upaniṣad* has always been specially sacred to the Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavas. About it Weber wrote as follows:—

"The first part, in 95 *ślokas*, contains at the beginning a short sketch of Rāma's life, which bears a great similarity to that at the beginning of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* (in the *Brāhmāṇḍapurāṇa*). The *mantrarāja* is

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁴⁷ *Prayāga-pradīpa* (in Hindi), p. 30.

next taught by the help of a mystical alphabet specially invented for the purpose."⁴⁸ And again:—"But further, the *Rāmatāpanī* displays still closer relations to Rāmananda, who is supposed to have lived towards the end of the 14th century."⁴⁹

Again, in Gadādhara's *Sampradāya-pradīpti*,⁵⁰ a MS work in praise of Vallabhācārya and his sect, we are told⁵¹ that 'From Vidyānagara, Vallabha proceeded to Prayāga, Kāśī and Badarikāśrama. At Badarikāśrama Vyāsa appeared before him and granted him the boon of Omniscience. Vallabha came to Haridvāra and thence to Kurukṣetra. There he became the guest at Thāneśvara of Rāmananda who worshipped Viṣṇu according to the Tāntrika system. He was the worshipper of the stone Śālagrāma. Vallabha remonstrated with him saying that the stone is merely a temple. You should worship the image of Kṛṣṇa. He did not agree, but his brother Śaṅkara agreed and became a disciple of Prabhupāda under the name of Prabhudāsa. Vallabha came to Benares . . .'; and also that 'His chief disciples at Dvārakā were Nārāyaṇa Dvivedī and Acyutāśrama. Rāpā Vyāsa was at first a disciple of Rāmananda, but he at last became a disciple of Vallabha at Purī.'

Allowing a fair margin to the fanatic proclivities of sectarian authors not always caring about the limitations of time and space, we may safely infer that it is our Rāmananda or one of his followers who is meant here. This is another proof of his Tāntrika or Yogic and

⁴⁸ *History of Indian Literature* (4th edition, 1904, London), p. 168.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190, footnote.

⁵⁰ Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Govt. College under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV (*History and Geography*, Calcutta, 1923), pp. 98 ff.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102 and 103.

Śaṅkarite leanings which get their full expression in his *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*. The contact between the *Rāmātāpanī* and the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which is only hinted by Weber, can be amplified by a detailed comparison of both these works. And surveying other minor *Upaṇiṣads* in the light of the tenets of the Rāmānandīya sect one cannot resist the conclusion that not only the above-mentioned two works but also some other *Upaṇiṣads*, e.g., *Sītā*, *Adrayatāraka*, *Rāmarahasya* and perhaps even the well-known *Muktikā*, are to be associated with Rāmānanda's faith.

It appears that as time went on and as the sect grew, limiting itself to the principles expounded in its Hindi literature, it, not only gradually lost its touch with but also, in its sectarian zeal, developed an indifference towards the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the best Sanskrit work of Rāmānanda; just as, in later times, it began to repudiate its connection with Rāmānuja's sect. To me, however, it appears a correct view that the great Ācārya Rāmānanda represented a practically harmonious combination and perhaps the best possible synthesis of the philosophies of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja in their application to *Rāmopāsanā*.

The sect now claims, on the authority of Svāmī Agradāsa, pupil of Payāhārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, pupil of Aanatānanda, pupil of the illustrious Rāmānanda, that Rāghavānanda, whose disciple their great Ācārya was, did not belong to the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja descended in the line of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, but came in the direct spiritual descent of Śrī-Rāma, Jānakī, Hanumān, Brahmā, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Vedavyāsa, Śuka, etc., representing the real and original Śrī-Sampradāya.⁵² It

⁵² *Dhyanā-mañjarī* by Svāmī Agradāsa (Ayodhyā, Samvat 1997), p. 12; *Śrī-Rāma-mantra-parama-Vaidika-Siddhānta* by Pt. Sarayūdāsa (Ayodhyā), pp. 29—32, 52 and 121.

may, however, be pointed out that besides the first three names peculiar to this sect, which the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* also accepts,⁵³ the remaining five,—after which there is a big gap up to the name of Puruṣottamācārya [followed by three names ending in *Ācārya* and 15 in *Ānanda*, besides three others of the latter variety],—in this *Guru-paramparā* (line of teachers) are exactly identical with those in that of Śaṅkarācārya's school, with the exclusion of only two names, *viz.*, Nārāyaṇa before Brahma (*Padmabhara*), and Śakti between Vasiṣṭha and Parāśara, from the latter.⁵⁴ Again, like the latter, it also contains a large number of names of teachers ending in *ānanda*. Whether the gap, too, represented the continuity of Śaṅkarācārya's *Guru-paramparā* or not needs no discussion; because the identity of the five names and similar ending in the majority of others in these two traditions suffice to prove that Rāmānandiya Vaiṣṇavism,—which unlike the Rāmānujīya one, not only is tolerant of Śiva and all that He represents but also pays special respects to Him for His being the ideal torch-bearer of *Rāma-bhakti*,—originated from the Advaita school of Śaṅkarācārya for laying special emphasis on the highest devotion to Rāma, —just like the school of Advaita Bhaktas, represented by Śrīdhara Svāmī, Vopadeva-Hemādri, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, etc., laying special emphasis on *Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti*,—as an essential accessory to knowledge leading to *mokṣa*. Rāmānanda composed the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* to suit the same purpose of the Rāma-bhaktas

⁵³ I. i. 25, 29—31, 52, 54; and VI. xvi. 6—17; and perhaps also suggested in V. v. 60—64.

⁵⁴ Cf. नारायणं पञ्चमवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपरारारं च ।

व्यासं शुक्रं गोष्ठपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ॥

श्रीशङ्कराचार्यमथास्य पञ्च-पादं च हस्तामलकं च शिष्यम् ।

तं त्रोटकं वार्तिककारमन्यानस्मद्गुरुन् सन्ततमानतोऽस्मि ॥

as was served by the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-mahāpurāṇa* in case of the Kṛṣṇa-bhaktas of the said school.⁵⁵ Rāmānanda had drunk deep at the nectar-ocean of the latter work which he freely drew upon in writing his *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*, as is clear from the numerous contacts between these two works.⁵⁶ I intend to do full justice to this point in a separate paper. L. Baijnath has wrongly assigned the 14th century to the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, whose date⁵⁷ according to modern research varies from the 6th down to the 11th, but in no case to a later, century.

⁵⁵ Cf. Jīva Gosvāmin's *Tattva-sandarbhā* (the first of his 6 *Bhāgavata-Sandarbhā*s), published by Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārīn (Calcutta, Caitanya era 433), pp. 67-68 and 76-78, referring to works on Advaitavādin's interpretation of the *Bhāgavata* prevalent in the Madhyadeśa, etc., and especially to Śrīdhara Svāmī's commentary under the same category.

⁵⁶ *AR.*, III. iv; IV. iv; etc., with *Ś Bh.*, XI. iii; xi; etc.; and especially *AR.*, VII. vii. 60—80 with *Ś Bh.*, III. xxix. 7—27 and 34-35. The author of the *AR.* was perhaps also well-acquainted with Vopadeva's *Muktāphala*, which has ever since remained a source of inspiration to the writers of various schools of *Bhakti*; cf. *Susiddhāntottama* of Priyādāsa, *Bhaktiratnāvalī* of the Maithilā Saint Viṣṇupurī of Kāśī, and the works of Madhusudana Sarasvatī, and the authors of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school, Jīva Gosvāmin, Baladeya, etc.

⁵⁷ Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf who placed the *Bhāgavata* in the 13th century A.C. have now become out-of-date, in view of the following results:—

(1) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his *Saivism, etc.*, (op. cit., pp. 68-69), fixes the date of the *Bhāgavata* 'at least two centuries before Ānandatīrtha' who flourished 'about 1199—1278 A.D.' and further says, "It cannot be very much older."

(2) *Alberuni's India* [see *Sachau*, Vol. I (1910), Ch. XII, p. 131] contains the name of the "*Bhāgavata* (i.e., *Vāsudeva*)" which unmistakably refers to the work in question, in Alberuni's list of the [Mahā-] Purāṇas, proving that it is much older than the 11th century.

(3) C. V. Vaidya, in *JBRRAS*, 1925, pp. 144, etc., dates it in the 10th century. See also Farquhar: *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India* pp. 229, etc.; Winternitz: *Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 556; etc.; placing it not earlier than the 9th century.

. There are indications in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* itself, which, as internal evidence, may be adduced to prove that its author was no other than our Rāmānanda. In spite of the fact that Śiva⁵⁸ and Brahmā⁵⁹ are said to have respectively described to Pārvaṭī [and Brahmā] and Nārada the original *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and its *Māhātmya* (importance), limiting the same to their respective spheres, *Kailāsa*⁶⁰ and *Satyaloka*⁶¹, the work in its present tangible form had still to emerge and become prevalent, at a distant future⁶² time, in the world of mortals⁶³ through a human author whose personality finds its expression, though perhaps unintentionally, in

(4) Pargiter in his *A. I. II. Tradition*, p. 80, dates the *Bhāgavata* "about the 9th century."

(5) Durgashanker Sastri, in *Bhāratīya-Vidyā*, II, pp. 129-139 is dating it 'not before the 8th century.'

(6) Dr. R. C. Hazra in his *Studies in the Purāṇic Records*, etc., pp. 54-55, has decided that 'the *Bhāgavata* cannot possibly be later than 800 A.D.' or 'earlier than about 500 A.D.'; and says that it is highly probable that it was composed in the former half of the 6th century.

(7) Mr. Amaranatha Ray, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London), VIII, pp. 167 ff. and *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, II, iii, has arrived at the conclusion that the *Bhāgavata* is to be assigned to the period between 550 and 650 A.D. and more probably to the first half of the 6th century.

(8) Mr. B. N. K. Sarmā, in *ABORI*, XIV, pp. 182, etc., comes to almost the same conclusion and (on pp. 216-17) adds that owing to the mention of the Tamil Vaiṣṇava saints (XI, v. 38-40) and Hūṇa devotees (II, iv. 18 and vii. 46) in it, the *Bhāgavata* cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

⁵⁸ *Māhātmyasarga*, vv. 18-21, (28, 46); I, i. 5-17, 24, 73 ii. 1-5; VI. xvi. 35, 49; VII. ix. 68, 70-71.

⁵⁹ *U.-sarga*, vv. 2-6, 17-18, 27-28, 36, 46-47, 59-60.

⁶⁰ I, i. 6.

⁶¹ *U.-sarga*, vv. 2-4.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vv. 21-26.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vv. 21-26, 47, 60.

several places in the text. This human author has twice⁶⁴ paid his devotional obeisance to the Lord of Jānakī or Sītā even before introducing the occasion⁶⁵ for a dialogue between Śiva and His Consort, Pārvatī. It is he who in three verses⁶⁶ describes the importance of this work in its beginning. Again, it is he who, at the end of Book VI, though incongruously putting it in the mouth of Śiva, tells us that⁶⁷ the latter briefly related this essence of all the Vedas (*i.e.*, the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*) to His Consort (*i.e.*, Pārvatī). The commentator (Rāmavarman-*cum*-Nāgeśa) rightly discerned the incongruity and consequently though not very reasonably remarked that a pupil of Śiva (who, according to the editor's footnote, was also hearing the story of Rāma being propounded to Pārvatī on the Kailāśa mountain) was responsible for the present stanza, *i.e.*, VI. xvi. 49 (and not Śiva Himself as the context would force). Again, in several places, our human author over-emphasises the fact that a certain part of the teaching of this work was directly⁶⁸ due to Rāma or Śiva as the case might be, meaning thereby that the reader should not suspect it to have come from a human author and consequently doubt its authoritative-ness or hesitate to believe in it. More direct references are also found in the work leading to the conclusion that this human author could be no other person than our Rāmānanda. They consist in the mention of the [*Rāma*] *Tāraka-mantra*,⁶⁹ nine-fold devotion as a means to

⁶⁴ I. i. 1 and 2.

⁶⁵ I. i. 6 ff.

⁶⁶ I. i. 3-5.

⁶⁷ VI. xvi. 49.

⁶⁸ I. i. 52; IV. iv. 40; VII. v. 59, 62; also I. i. 54; IV. iii 31-33, 35-36; etc.

⁶⁹ II. ix. 50-52; VI. xv. 62; VI. xvi. 49, etc.

*Premā-bhakti*⁷⁰ causing liberation, *Śālagrāmī*,⁷¹ *Agastya-saṁhitā*,⁷² typical *Gurubhakti*,⁷³ etc., together with the covert references to Rāghavānanda and Rāmānanda. In one place⁷⁴ it is said that Mahēśvara at the instance of Rāghava made the present episode (i.e., composed the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*). Here, by a paronomastic use, the word *Rāghava* is intended to primarily denote Rāma and secondarily suggest Rāghavānanda Svāmin; and similarly, Mahēśvara, Rāma's devotee *par excellence*, disseminating Rāma's name at Kāśī,⁷⁵ is Śiva as well as our Rāmānanda. 'Rāmānanda' = Rama + 'ānanda' (or even 'Ra' + 'mā' + 'ānandu' or 'nanda'), as the constant burthen of the poem and more or less something like a *nom-de-plume*, appears throughout the work. The word in its unbroken form is used once only,⁷⁶ but as broken in parts it occurs about 80 times at least, sometimes in one and the same verse⁷⁷ and sometimes in the different verses.⁷⁸ Such a strange phenomenon could not be accidental; inasmuch as the use of the word 'ānanda' in close juxtaposition with *Rāma* is not met with in any other similar work on such a

⁷⁰ III. x. 22—30, etc.

⁷¹ *M.-sarga*, v. 54; IV. iv. 14—17, etc.

⁷² IV. iv. 29, 31; etc.

⁷³ IV. iv. 16.

⁷⁴ VII. ix. 70.

⁷⁵ III. ix. 50—52; VI. xv. 62.

⁷⁶ VI. xii. 22.

⁷⁷ I. i. 17, 32, 43; v. 44; vii. 57; II. i. 32; iii. 1, 80; iv. 87; vi. 47; viii. 37; ix. 68; V. iii. 37; VI. v. 86; xiii. 17, 24, 25, 26, 28; xiv. 64, 66; VII. i. 2; ii. 1; v. 43, 60; vii. 82; viii. 2; ix. 45, 48, 53.

⁷⁸ *Māhātmya-sarga*, vv. 20-21; I. i. 5-6, 23-24, 31-33; ii. 4-7, 15-21; iii. 29-35, 54-58, 58-61; vi. 42-43; II. v. 59-60, 64-65, vi. 45-47; vii. 94-106; ix. 3-4; III. iv. 35-40; viii. 18-19, 20-22; VI. i. 75-79-83; iii. 31-36; V. i. 1-2; iv. 19-23, 20-24; VI. i. 50-51; v. 85-86; x. 40-42, 58-59; xi. 48-49; xiii. 16-17, 27-30, 28-31; xiv. 55-59; xv. 2-5, 27-28, 68-69; xvi. 17-18, 27-28, 29-30; VII. iii. 3-9, 26-28; iv. 34-35; vii. 54-55; ix. 58-68; etc.; etc.

lavish scale, notwithstanding the word Rāma, which, in a work of the present category, is, of course, expected to occur very frequently.

Tulasīdāsa, the morning star of the Rāmānandī sect, has made a free use of the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* in his *Rāmacarita-mānasa*. The contacts between these two works are too well known and too numerous to note down in short compass of the present paper that has already grown rather lengthy. Besides them certain passages in the latter work also prove his indebtedness to and yet his partial departure from and indifference towards the peculiar message of this most important work of the *parama-guru* of his sect. In the *Bāla-kāṇḍa*, Tulasīdāsa says, "Śiva composed this charming *Rāma-carita* and afterwards kindly described it to Umā Lastly, I heard the same *Kathā* from my own preceptor at *Śūkarakṣetra* (i.e., Soron, Dist. Etah, U. P.); but, owing to my exceedingly unawakened nature typical of early age, I could hardly follow it. The *Kathā* (story) of Rāma, whose exponents as well as audience were always receptacles of knowledge, was too deep for me, an ignorant soul, to understand. When my preceptor told me the same repeatedly, I could pick it up but partly or imperfectly. I will write the same in popular language, so that it may awaken my mind. In proportion to my own approach, I will, led at heart by the Lord, describe that *Kathā* which is the boat to sail on the river of transmigration (or world) and which is calculated to remove my doubt, delusion and misconception."⁷⁹

⁷⁹ "राम्यु कोन्ह वह चरित सुहावा । बहुति कृपा करि उमहि सुनावा ॥ (cf. footnote 58)

मैं पुनि निज गुरु सन सुनी, कथा सुसुकर-सेत ।

समुन्नी नहि तस बालपन, तब अति रहेउं अचेत ॥

मोता बक्ता ज्ञाननिधि, कथा राम की गूढ ।

किमि समुन्नी मैं बीच जड, कलियल प्रसित बिगूढ ॥

बदलि कही गुरु बारहि वारा । समुन्नि परी कहु मति अनुसारा ॥

Now, there is no Sanskrit work which can claim to answer this description better than the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the *Rāma-kathā* also forming the subject of some sections of certain *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* besides the *Vālmīkiya Rāmāyaṇa*. Again, in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, in course of the dialogue between *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi* and *Garuḍa*, Tulasīdāsa has expressed his own^{79a} and perhaps to a great extent his sect's feeling that the *Saguṇa-bhakti-pakṣa*, being easier to practise and surer in yielding the desired fruit, though very rarely understood, is superior to the *Nirguṇa-bhakti-jñāna-pakṣa*, which he does not denounce or reject but admits to be most difficult for an aspirant to follow.⁸⁰ Rāmānanda, as is

भाषावद्ध करव मैं सोई । मोरे मन प्रबोध जेहि होई ॥

जस कछु बुधि विवेक बल मोरे । तस कहिहउं हिय हरि के प्रेरे ॥

निज सन्देह मोह भ्रम हरनी । करउं कथा भव-सरिता-तरनी ॥

(cf. *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi* to *Garuḍa*, in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*—

गपउ मोर सन्देह.....; मोहिं भयउ अति मोह.....;

निर्गुन रूप सुलभ अति, सगुन जानै कोय ।

सुगम अगम नाना चरित, मुनि मुनि-मन भ्रम होय ॥.....

जेहि विधि मोह भयउ प्रभु मोही.....; and *Rāma* to *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi*:—

मायासम्भव सकल भ्रम, अब नहिं व्यापहिं तोहिं ॥)

See also—रामचरितमानस मुनिभावन । विरचेउ शम्भु सुहावन पावन ॥.....

रचि महेश निज मानस राखा । पाव सुसमय शिवा सन भाखा ॥

ताते राम-चरित-मानस वर । भरेउ नाम हिय हेरि हर्षि हर ॥

कहउं कथा सोइ सुखद सुहाई । सादर सुनहु सुजन मन लाई ॥

^{79a} Mark the underlined portions of footnotes 79 and 80.

⁸⁰ *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi* says to *Garuḍa*—

प्रथम जन्म के चरित अब.....;.....चरमदेह द्विनकर मैं पाई ।.....

जेहि पूछउं सो मुनि अस कहई । ईश्वर सर्वभूतमय अहई ॥

निर्गुणमत गहिं मोहिं सुहाई । सगुण-ब्रह्म-रति उर अधिकारि ॥.....

मुनि लोमश.....लागे करन ब्रह्म उपदेशा । भज अहंते अगुण हृदयेरा ॥ . . .

सो तैं तोहिं ताहि नहिं भेदा । बारि-बीचि-इव गावहिं वेदा ॥

विविध भांति मोहिं मुनि सयुक्तावा । निर्गुण मत भज हृदय न आवा ॥.....

पुनि मैं करेउं नाय पद सीसा । सगुण उपासन कहहु मुनीसा ॥.....

भरि लोचन बिलोकि अवधेसा । तब मुनिहउं निर्गुण उपदेशा ॥

पुनि मुनि कह हरिकथा अनूपा । स्तब्ध सगुण मत अगुण निरूपा ॥.....

decisively proved by Dr. P. D. Barthwal and as may also be inferred from the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, preached both the *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa* paths, and perhaps the two were inter-related in an ascending order in his scheme. We know that Kabīra and some of his other followers upheld the *Nirguṇa-pakṣa* only to the total rejection of the *Saguṇa* one; while the majority represented by Tulasī-dāsa in particular and the present Rāmānandī sect in general have held a view of the matter diametrically opposed to that of Kabīra and others, with this difference

पुनि पुनि सयुखपक्ष मै रोषा । तब मुनि बोले वचन सक्रोधा ॥.....
 अतिविरम्य पुनि पुनि पङ्क्तिताई । सादर मुनि मोहि लीन्ह जुलाई ॥
 मम परितोष विविध विधि कीन्हा । हर्षित राममन्त्र मोहि दीन्हा ॥.....
 मुनि मोहि कह्यु काल तहँ राखा । रामचरितमानस सब भाखा ॥
 सादर मोहि बह कथा सुनाई । पुनि बोले मुनि गिरा सुझाई ॥
 रामचरितसर गुप्त सुझावा । रामप्रसाद तात मै पावा ॥...
 रामभक्ति जिनके उर नाहीं । कबहुँ न तात कहिय तेहि पाहीं ॥.....
 जे अस भक्ति जानि परिहरहीं । केवल ज्ञानहेतु भ्रम करहीं ॥.....
 ते शठ महासिन्धु विनु तरनी । पैरि पार चाहत जड करनी ॥
 (cf. AR, I. i. 10-11, etc.).....
 मुनि मुशुष्टि के वचन भवानी । बोलैउ गच्छ हर्षि श्रुद वानी ॥
 तब प्रसाद प्रभु मम उर माहीं । संराय शोक मोह भ्रम नाहीं ॥.....
 कहहि सन्त मुनि वेद पुराना । नहि कछु दुर्लभ ज्ञान समाना ॥
 सो मुनि तुमसन कहैउ गोसाईं । नहि आदरेउ भक्ति की नाई ॥
 ज्ञानहि भक्तिहि अन्तर केता । ...सादर बोलैउ काफ सुमाना ॥
 ज्ञानहि भक्तिहि नहि कछु भेदा । उभय हरहि भवसम्भव खेदा ॥
 नाथ मुनीश कहहि कछु अन्तर ।.....
 ज्ञान विराग योग विद्याना । ये सब पुरुष..... ॥.....
 पुरुष त्वामि सकि नारि कहँ, जो बिरक्त भतिबीर ।.....
 भक्तिहि सानुकूल रघुराया । तात तेहि डरपति भतिमाया ॥
 औरहु ज्ञान भक्ति कर, भेद सुनहु..... ॥.....
 ईश्वर भंश जीव भविनाशी ।..... ज्ञान कि पुन्य कृपाय कि चारा ।.....
 भति दुर्लभ कैवल्य परमपद । राम भजत सो मुक्ति गुसाईं ।
 अनहम्बित भावै बरिझाई ॥.....
 सेवक सेव्य भाव विनु, भव न तरिय उरगारि ।.....
 कहैउ ज्ञान सिद्धान्त बुझाई । सुनहु भक्तिमयि की प्रभुताई ॥.....

that Tulasīdāsa was partial to *Saguṇa* in preference to the *Nirguṇa* path but did not denounce the latter; whereas the Rāmānandīs in their sectarian fervour are practically opposed to the latter, in consequence of their pro-Vaiṣṇavite tendencies contracted from their age-long associations with other Vaiṣṇavas and especially with the most prominent sect of Rāmānuja among them. Rāmānanda represented a synthesis of the two paths; whereas either set of his followers to whom it appeared unnatural stuck to one in isolation from the other.

The word *dīnāra*⁸¹ occurring in the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* is sometimes pointed out as a proof of its belonging to an early age when *dīnāras* were in use. But it should be remembered that this word occurs also in the works of Kṣemendra, Kalhaṇa,⁸² etc., belonging to the 11th, 12th and even later centuries. *Loku-prakaśa*,⁸³

From the indications in the *Rāma-carita mānasa*, may we not conclude that the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* was highly honoured in the Rāmānandī sect up to the times of Tulasīdāsa's preceptor who used to recite its *kathā* which Tulasi heard at Soron and that the latter, who was indebted to that so popular a Sanskrit work of his sect for much of his material, rather who based his work in the popular language mainly on it, was the first author who took courage in both hands to strike a discordant note against its emphasis on the path of knowledge, though balanced by an equal one on devotion as the accessory to the former, and who, possibly not only as an individual aspirant but also representing the feeling of the Vairāgi sect of his days, placed the path of *saguṇa-bhakti* on a higher level than that of the *nirguṇa-bhakti-jñāna-pakṣa*; and thereafter the sect as a whole turned averse to this nice work of the great Ācārya Rāmānanda, who perhaps in his later years did not emphasise it for those who were qualified only to follow the *saguṇa* path? One thing, however, is certain that like Rāmānanda's even Tulasīdāsa's conception of knowledge was in no way different from that of Saṅkarācārya's Advaita Vedānta.

⁸¹ AR, I. vi. 76.

⁸² See Stein: *Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī*, Vol. II, pp. 309, 313, etc.

⁸³ Dr. A. Weber: *Indische Studien*, Achtzehnter Band i.e., Vol. XVIII. (Leipzig: 1898), pp. 239—397; for *dīnāra*, see pp. 339, 342, 358, etc.

though attributed to Kṣemendra, yet really a work having matters of even as late times as the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, *i.e.*, up to the times of Shahjahan, contains it. In all these and some Persian works of these times *dināra* denotes something like the *asharfī* or *mohur*, a gold coin of the Mohammedan times, just like *Yavana*, originally denoting Indian Greeks but now generally used to mean a Mohammedan. It is, therefore, not strange if the 14th century author of the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* also knows *dināra*.

Attention of the critical scholars may also be drawn to the fact that of all the MSS of this work deposited in the different libraries of India and other countries none appear to belong to a period anterior to Rāmānanda, while older MSS of other works are still available. Similarly, none of its commentaries⁸³ are old enough to disprove the contention that the work was written in the 14th century, some of them being very recent. Of these *Setu* by Rāmavarman of Śṛṅgaverapura (Singraur, Dist. Allahabad) was written about the beginning of the 18th century probably in collaboration with Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the famous Mahārāṣṭra polymath and a versatile author of Benares.

In fine, Rāmānanda (originally Rāmadatta or Rāmaśarman), son of Devala, a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa, was born at Prayāga in 1299 A.C. and went to Kāśī at the

⁸³ T. Aufrecht: *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 11—Oppert 11, 2584; by Gopāla Cakravartin, IO. 219; by Narottama, IO. 562; *Setu* by Rāmavarman (already published at Bombay and Calcutta); by Rāmānanda Tīrtha, see I. 419; by Saṅkara, B. 2, 56; by Sadānanda, NW. 500; *Prakāśa* by Haribhāskara, Ptm. 2, 48; *Ar-Rahasya* by Rādhākṛṣṇa, Radh. 38;—see also p. 521—among 47 works compiled by Rāmānanda Tīrtha or Yati called Tīrtha-svāmin. *Guru* of Advaitānanda (Hall, p. 89)—*Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa-tippaṇī*, *Adhyātma-bindu*, *Adhyātma-sāra* (Vedānta) mentioned I. 1017 under *Rāmakāvya*; *Rāma-tattvapra-kāśa*, *Rāmāyaṇa-kūṭa-tīkā*, *Saṅkṣepādhyātma-sāra* I. 1022; and by Rāmānanda Svāmin *Tattva-saṅgraha-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mukti-tattva*.

age of 12, and there, pursuing higher studies in the Advaita-Vedānta and practices in Śaivism and *Rāma-bhakti*, wrote the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* as the best synthesis of his achievements in the domain of practical philosophy and religion and a nice specimen of a literary work, before he instituted his own sect which resulted in developing two parallel currents of *Bhakti*, the *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa* one, the germs of both having been deposited in this work.

It is a queer combination of facts that the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, its famous commentary by Rāmavarman-cum-Nāgeśabhaṭṭa and the present paper—all the three—should have been connected alike with the two most sacred places of pilgrimage and very great seats of ancient culture and learning, *viz.*, Prayāga and Kāśī, respectively regarding their authorship and publication.

विद्याभूषणविरुदो रघुवरराजीत्यतिष्ठिपत् सम्यक् ।
अध्यात्मरामचरिते श्रीरामानन्दकर्तृकताम् ॥

RESEARCH IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: A REVIEW

By P. T. RAJU

I

What is Indian Philosophy? Like European Philosophy Indian Philosophy has a geographical differentia. It is all philosophy born in India. It comprises the Buddhist schools, the Jain system, the orthodox Hindu schools and the Vedāntic systems, the pure indigenous Tamil, Canarese, and Telugu Śaivisms, some of which later became Vedāntic, the similarly developed local and Vedāntic Vaiṣṇavisms; and a number of other minor religious philosophies, which also may be divided into two classes, the pure and the Vedāntic, the Vedāntic in general being the later phases or developments of what were purely of local origin. But unlike European Philosophy, Indian Philosophy has the misfortune of being temporarily limited. It is, as it is till now understood, the philosophy born in India before the sixteenth century. Or we may say it is only the ancient and mediæval Indian philosophy. It does not seem to have been recognised that Indian Philosophy has a modern period, or that it can have one.

What is the reason? Human mind and behaviour, says McDougall, is *hormic* or purposive. Its activity is guided and coloured by purpose; when the purpose is realised activity ceases. This principle is fairly exemplified in our philosophical activity.

Max Müller lecturing in Oxford in the year 1882 asks : "Why then should it be that the race of bold explorers, who once rendered the name of Indian Civil Service illustrious over the whole world, has well-nigh become extinct, and that England, which offers the strongest incentives and the most brilliant opportunities for the study

of the ancient language, literature and the history of India, is no longer in the van of Sanskrit scholarship?'¹ To that question, the answer he commonly heard was that *The Laws of Manu* was translated and so also was *Śākuntalam* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. What else does a civil servant need to know?

After the execution of Nanda Kumar for forgery, Warren Hastings felt the need of governing the subject races according to their own laws; and an attempt was made to understand their beliefs and faiths, because as a sagacious policy the rulers proclaimed that they would not interfere with the religions of the ruled. The former found that the Hindus and the Muslims of the time were sensitive about their religious practices, and the government felt that, if it were to run smooth, it should respect them. Therefore some knowledge of both Hindu and Muslim law and of their faiths was found indispensable. Hence the English translation of the Indian law from the Persian by Halhead entitled the *Code of Gentoo Law*, and the inauguration of The Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1784. A little later Sanskrit philological studies were started by Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones and H. T. Colebrooke. But the chief interest was mainly centred in the study of Indian law and faiths and that too for the purpose of governing the Indians. That is why by the time Max Müller was lecturing in Oxford he found interest in Indological studies waning. The Indian Civil Service was not interested in knowing whether Indian literature, ethical, philosophical and religious, contained anything which was ethically, philosophically and religiously valuable by incorporating which their own ethics, philosophy and religion could be enriched. How strange would Max Müller's words have sounded when he

¹ *India: What can It Teach Us?*, p. ix.

said: "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found the solution of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India."² Certainly Indological studies did not begin with these aims, and we shall not be wrong if we say that Indian philosophical research even at this day is not completely freed from the non-philosophical aim with which it started.

II

The motives that impelled the Westerners to study Indian Philosophy are varied. First, we have the interest of the governing classes to know the ideas of the governed, so as to least provoke them by disturbing their fundamental beliefs and conceptions and going against their customs. It is for this reason that Warren Hastings started the work of translating the Hindu law and The Asiatic Society of Bengal was inaugurated. But the aim of such work is not high. At a certain stage lack of interest sets in. However, when a certain type of work gets started, it generally goes on. Because of the vast amount of material that can

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

be presented to the West in its languages, the work will not come to a full stop. Meanwhile educated India has become identical with English-knowing India. In order to teach it what its country achieved in the past, presentation of Indian thought in English has become a necessity. And as Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are dead languages, translating them into English and living Indian languages will have to continue. But such work will inevitably bear the stamp 'antiquarian.'

In the second place, the Christian missionaries were interested in understanding Indian religions and philosophy, not in order to appreciate, but to criticise. Proselytisation was difficult without proving to the Indians that their religion was faulty and evil. This type of work began even from the later half of the seventeenth century. Abraham Roger, a Dutchman, wrote in 1681 *Open Door to Hidden Heathendom*. Bernier in 1671 and Tavernier in 1677 both wrote on the social customs of the Indians. As early as 1656 *L' Ezour Vedam* was found written with the express intention of criticising Hinduism for obtaining more converts. This type of work which is avowedly sectarian and biased cannot have much philosophical value. Its main purpose is to pick out faults and to be blind to merits and so to lose the spirit. Its authors may have generally good theological training, but not the philosophical in the pure sense of the term. So even if they want to, they cannot appreciate the real worth of the philosophical side of Hindu religion. Such work makes much of non-essentials and often shows deplorable ignorance of essentials.

But even the work of missionaries has made progress from intentional misunderstanding and misinterpretation through detached and objective study towards sympathetic appreciation. Several intermediate stages and mixed motives can be found. As late as 1914 St. Hilaire writes:

"This work may possibly possess another advantage, for I regret to say that it is to a certain degree opportune. For some time past the doctrines which form the basis of Buddhism have found favour amongst us, a favour of which they are most unworthy."³ Evidently the author is afraid that Buddhism would displace Christianity. The tendency of all Christian writers, from the philosopher to the theologian, is to find in Christianity a synthesis of all that is best in all religions. Neither Hegel nor Pfliederer is free from this bias. Works like those of Farquhar and Macnicol we may possibly place in the second category. But of late some Christians have discovered that they have really nothing new to preach to the Hindu in religion, and that on the other hand there is something worthy which they may themselves borrow from Hinduism. The growth of some Christian sects which, except for their belief in Christ, observe most of Hindu religious practices, is an example to the point. Sadhu Sunder Singh is a Hindu in every respect except for his Christianity.⁴ C. F. Andrews did not care to convert. Pratt in his *Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage, India and its Faiths*, and *Adventures in Philosophy and Religion*, makes an honest appreciatory approach to Indian religion and thought. He believes in a true synthesis of the Socratic tradition and the preachings of Jesus and Buddha. The rationalism and the scientific spirit of the West is Socratic legacy, love of neighbours and the world the Christian, and self-abnegation the Buddhist. A true unity of the three is the high task and heavy responsibility of the religion and the philosophy of the day. On the other hand, Rev. McKenzie finds very little of ethical worth in our philosophy and religion. To quote Hopkins, who is really appreciative, "Prof. McKenzie finds the ethics of India

³ *Buddha and His Religion*, p. 15.

⁴ See C. F. Andrews: *Sadhu Sunder Singh*, p. 248.

defective, illogical and antisocial, lacking any philosophical foundation, nullified by abhorrent ideas of ascetism and ritual, and altogether inferior to the 'higher spirituality' of Europe. He will not deny that the Hindus favour some virtues, such as liberality and hospitality, and he is careful to point out that an altruistic motive in exercising these virtues may not be entirely absent; but he reminds his readers that they are of savage origin; when properly interpreted they reveal themselves as based on selfishness and magical superstition, so that, historically considered, they would appear to be surviving vices rather than honest virtues, at least among Hindus."⁵ Examples can be multiplied, but it would be enough if we note the aims and achievements of such work.

The third type of work is that of the archæologist and the anthropologist. The contribution made by this work to Indian philosophy is not very much and is mostly limited to the understanding of some primitive religious beliefs and customs. The excavations at Mohenjodaro reveal some primitive Śiva cult. Similarly, the anthropologists place before us the religious beliefs and customs of the Todas, Nāgas, etc., which certainly can help understanding the growth of our present-day religion. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is full of such information. Excavations of sites at Amaravati, Nalanda and other Buddhist centres furnish us with information about the spread and growth of Buddhism. Such societies outside India, as in the East Indies, Combodia and many other Asiatic countries reveal to us the greatness and importance of Buddhism as a world religion, and have done wonderful work in that direction. And it is the work of these societies that prompts the building up of theories like Pre-Upaniṣadic Sāṅkhya, Proto-Sāṅkhya and so forth.

⁵ *Ethics of India*, Preface.

A fourth kind of interest in Indian Philosophy is the philological, which has given rise to the philological interpretations of philosophical systems. This tendency is present in many a Western orientalist, who generally makes a historical or genetic approach to the subject. Though now and then there are excursions into the philosophical systems by such scholars, this work is mostly confined to Vedic research. Though their attempts are followed by very little success in the case of the systems, in understanding the Vedas they have been most useful. It is not unusual with the Pandits of India also to dwell on the etymological meanings of words and include grammatical controversies in their philosophical discussions. But the Western orientalist goes farther and brings in aid philology, semantics and comparative mythology. There is no doubt that so far as the work is confined to the Vedas, it would be highly useful. The discovery of Sanskrit in India revealed the kinship of the Indo-Germanic languages and this study led to the development of comparative mythology and comparative philology, the underlying idea being that all must have had some common origin. Sanskrit being the oldest form preserved, much light, it is reasonably thought, can be thrown on the Vedic ideas by a study of the languages and the myths of the other people. But as we shall see below, when this type of study is made of the systems, nothing but confusion and misunderstanding will result. Even in the etymological understanding of concepts we have to distinguish two kinds: first, to fix the significance of the concept philosophically and support it through etymology and, second, to give the etymological meaning of the word at first and fix the significance of the concept accordingly. The second is a hindrance to a true understanding of philosophical systems.

Then fifthly, there are people who are mystic in temperament and who overwhelmed by the mystery of the

universe and unable to unravel it with the help of Western thought feel that oriental wisdom contains a key to it. The Theosophical Society, for instance, has done valuable service to Indian philosophical studies by getting a large number of important works edited and translated. Mrs. Annie Besant's translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* is still one of the most popular. Two other names, those of Justice Woodroffe and Aurore Avalon, should also be mentioned in this connection. They showed great courage in expounding Tāntric literature and Śākta philosophy to the educated public, even to educated India, which looked upon both as closely associated with contemptible superstitions and practices. In all these people there is in general a groping of the mystic after the mysterious; there lies their interest and hence the great service they have done to Indian Philosophy. Does not even McTaggart say that philosophy must necessarily end in mysticism!

None of the above five motives that prompted the occidentals to study Indian Philosophy is philosophical in the sense that the study is made with the manifest purpose of knowing how best to improve their rational understanding of the universe. We may however say that the last approaches the criterion. Yet the motive is rather religious than philosophical, and their study has so far contributed little to the growth of either Indian thought or the European. Mr. Krishnamurti seems to be striking at new ideas, but he systematically inveighs against all systems. One or two attempts have been made to discover a system in his systematic invective, but any development therefrom must await the future. Moreover, it is difficult to say that his ideas are a result of a study of Indian Philosophy or the European or the outcome of the study of Indian thought by the Theosophists.

[To be continued.]

GLEANINGS FROM SOMADEVASŪRI'S YAŚASTILAKA CAMPŪ

By V. RAGHAVAN

[The historical interest of the work—Somadeva's wide contacts—His works—Logician and Poet—Master of vocabulary—His *Y. T. Campū*—the sources of information—Notices of the work—Errors in the *Kāryamāla Text*—Two commentaries—Śrīdeva's earlier commentary and the BORI Ms of the same—Śrutasaṅgara's gloss based on Śrīdeva's—the *Sāmagrīs* of poetry—*Vakrokti* and *Srabhārokti*—*Ratirahasya*—Paripuṅkha name of Buddha's father—*Trikamata*—Types of towns, cities, etc.—schools of grammar—Raṅgavallī—Different countries Aśmantaka, Pallava, Cola, etc.—Allusion to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa title—Nāṭya-sāstra—*Patracchedya* one of the 64 Arts—Authorities on several branches of learning—Paṇi name of Pāṇini's father—Raivata on horses—*Bhogūvalī* a court-panegyric—Allusion to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa title—suffix—Authorities on elephant-lore, Rājaputra (Budha), etc.—Māgha the poet—Reference to 'Asamasāhasa'—Sattriputras a class of spies—*Māma* meaning uncle—*Traidanḍika-Śaivas*—*Ṣaṭprajñas* and the semantics of the word—Kauṭalya and Viśālākṣa—Reference to six poets and scholars—Description of armies of Tamils, Bengalis, etc.—Authorities on Arthaśāstra; some rare names here—Topical epitome of Polity—Topical epitome of Nāṭya and Alaṅkāra śāstras—Reference to *Darśanakārus*—Elephant-authorities—*Vaidya*-authorities—Mechanical appliances in the bathing park—Akālaḥalada the poet—Allusion to Cedi-Rāṣṭrakūṭa marriages—Musical instruments—*Mahānavamī* and *Dīpotsara* festival—Practice of Archery—custom of *Drṣṭiparihāra*—A Lady-doorkeeper proficient

in all languages—Mechanical fan—Quotation from Vātsyāyana—Allusion to Rāṣṭrakūṭa title-suffix—Some Proverbs—Quotations from Lokāyata—Bad practices in some countries—Some idioms—Quotations from Vararuci (Bharṭṭhari), Manu, *M. Bhārata*—from Bhāradvāja's *Arthasāstra*—from Viśālākṣa's *Arthasāstra*—*Prasnottararatnamālikā* imitated—A sample of anti-Jain declamation—Śruti and Smṛti quoted—References to Jainism in Brahmanical books—Prajāpati's *Citrakarman* and *Adityamata* two *Śilpa* works—17 poets referred to; five of them unknown—Kāvya chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭya-sāstra*—Objectionable Brāhmaṇa practices—*Piṣṭapaśuṃyāga* and its antiquity—some legends, Vararuci, Dāṇḍakya Bhoja, etc.—Instances of dangers to kings from women, found also in his *Nītivākyāmṛta*—*Samikṣā* or *Sāṅkhyā*—*Raghuvamśa*—Metrics, Veda, *Gāyatrī*—Kālidāsa—*Syādrūda*—*M. Bhārata*—probable echo of *Mukundamālā*—Nine sections of polity—Lokāyata of Brhaspati—Mīmāṃsā—Buddhistic *Tripitakas* and *Yogācāras*—*kucumāra-vidyā*—*Citrakāvya*—*Nāṭya*—Pūṇḍya coin—*Pūrṇa*—*Kumbha* a good omen—*Samavasaraṇa*—MS copying—*Manmathapūjā*—cock-fight—*Kharapaṭa śāstra* or, theft—summary of *Sāṅkhyā*, *Śaiva*, *Bauddha* and *Cārvāka* schools—Quotations from Kumārila's *Ślokarārttika* and *Hastāmalaḥkiya*—*Śaiva* quotations—*Aradhūta* a *Śaiva* quoted—*Mahimnasstava* quoted—Bharṭṭhari's *Nītiśataka* quoted—*Raghuvamśa* used—Summary of philosophical schools *Saiddhāntika* *Vaiśeṣika*s, *Tārkikavaiśeṣika*s, *Pāsupatas*, *Kaulas*, *Sāṅkhyas*, *Daśabalasiṅgyas* (*Bauddhas*), *Mīmāṃsakas*, *Cārvākas*, *Vedāntins*, *Śākya*, again, *Kāṇādas* (*Naiyāyikas*), *Buddhists* again, *Kāpilas* (*Pātañjalas*), *Brahmādvaitins*—*Patañjali* quoted—*Śvapnādhyāya* quoted—criticism of all these schools—Reference to *Śaṅkara* as having followed the Buddhistic viewpoint—*Patañjali*—*Śaiva* criticised—*Vaiśeṣika* quoted—Legend of *Śiva*

revealing Vaiśeṣika to Kaṇāda in owl-form at Benares—criticism of other schools and exposition of Jainism.]

Somadevasūri wrote his *Yaśastilaka Campū* in A.D. 959, when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III was staying in Melpāṭi,¹ after defeating and killing the Cola prince Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka, in A.D. 949, in the battle of Takkolam in which Kṛṣṇa was aided by his brother-in-law and ally, Bhīrtuga. The immediate patrons of Somadeva were the Lemulavāḍa Cālukyas, feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Arikesarin II, his son Vadyaga and his son Arikesarin III; there is an inscription of the last mentioned Lemulavāḍa chief Arikesarin III, dated A.D. 966, in which Somadevasūri is mentioned.²

At the end of the *Yaśastilaka Campū*, Somadeva describes himself as a pupil of the Devasaṅgha, but in the Parbhanī inscription, he is referred to the Gauḍasaṅgha; and on the basis of this and the reference in a commentary on Somadeva's *Nītirākhyāmṛta*³ to his having written that work on Polity for King Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, and supported also by allusions in the *Yaśastilaka Campū* leaving out Somadeva's acquaintance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies and near relatives, the Cedis, I suggested in an article⁴ on Somadeva that the poet had contacts in Gauḍadeśa and with the court of the Pratihāras, the Cedis, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Lemulavāḍa Cālukya feudatories of the last.

These wide contacts and his vast erudition make Somadeva's works valuable. According to the colophon in his

¹ See *Yaśastilaka Campū*, *Kāryamālā* 70, 2 Vols., end of Vol. II, p. 419.

² See *Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samśodhana Maṇḍala Journal*, XIII. 3; pp. 85—92, Nathuram Premi's Hindi Book '*Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*'; and my article on Somadevasūri in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 67—69.

³ *Māṇikyacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, 21.

⁴ See *New Indian Antiquary*, *ibid.*

Nītivākyāmrta, Somadeva wrote 96 *Prakaraṇas*, a *Yukti-cintāmaṇisūtra*, a work called *Mahendra-mātali—Sañjalpa*, besides the *Yakastilaka Campū* and the *Nītivākyāmrta*. The Parbhani inscription adds to his works a *Syādvādo-paṇiṣad* and numerous *Subhāṣitas*. In the 17th introductory verse in his *Y. T. Campū*, he refers to his being a logician and a poet.

आजन्म समभ्यस्ताच्छुष्कात्तर्काचृयादिव ममात्माः ।

मतिसुरमेरभवदियं सुक्तिपयः सुकृतिनां पुण्यैः ॥

Of his works, this voluminous *Y. T. Campū* of his, published in two volumes as No. 70 in the *Kāvyamālā* is a vast storehouse of information and contains references to numberless things of interest made both in a straight and veiled manner. In a verse at the end of the *Campū*, Somadeva calls his work an *Abhidhāna-nidhāna* (pt. II, p. 418), and in its description of the daily life of a king with which a substantial portion of the former part is taken, the *Campū* is an epitome of every subject which normally comes under the scheme of a royal thesaurus like the *Abhilāṣitārthacintāmaṇi* of Someśvara of Kalyan. There is a good deal here to supplement the author's main work on *Arthaśāstra*, the *Nītivākyāmrta*. A complete analysis of the contents of the *Campū* with Notes is a major piece of work on which I am not embarking. In this paper, I am jotting down with my Notes only such of the points of interest as arrested my attention on a running perusal of the *Campū*.

The *Y. T. Campū* is noticed by Peterson in his *Second Report*, 1884, pp. 33—49 and 147—156; this notice comprises a summary of the work, some gleanings and extracts.⁵ The *Kāvyamālā* print of the work of 1901 is very defective, and especially in the commentary

⁵ In the enthusiasm of his discovery, Peterson gives rather exaggerated praise to the work (p. 33).

of Śrutasāgara printed in the above publication up to a part of the fifth chapter, the errors are too numerous. Śrutasāgara had before him the commentary *Pañjikā* of one Śrīdeva, whom Śrutasāgara completely uses, and whom he refers to in two places :

(a) Pt. I, p. 237. पञ्जिकाकारेणु (.कारस्तु) श्रीदेवाचार्यः
कविशब्देन बृहस्पतिमाह ।

(b) Pt. I, p. 462 'भद्रभियं चन्दनम्' इति पञ्जिका भारो (—कारः)
जिनदेवः (श्रीदेवः) ।

This Śrīdeva's commentary on the *Y. T. Campū* is available in a manuscript in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and through the courtesy of Curator P. K. Gode, I was able to use the *Pañjikā* for this article. Śrīdeva's commentary, BORI 547 of 1884—86, is a very brief gloss; the manuscript, as it contains 34 sheets, and might have had a few more sheets. At the end of the *Y. T. Campū*, an *Upajāti* gives an indication of the subjects that have gone into the work :

वर्णः पदं वाक्यविधिः समासो लिंगं क्रिया कारकमन्यतन्त्रम् ।

छन्दो रसो रीतिरलङ्कार्यो लोकस्थितिश्चात्र चतुर्दश स्युः ॥

Pt. II, p. 419.

Śrīdeva gives a more detailed list of the branches of knowledge appearing in the pages of the *Y. T. Campū* :

छन्दःशब्दनिर्घटवलंकृतिकलासिद्धान्तसामुद्रक-

ज्योतिर्वैद्यकवेदवादभरतानङ्गद्विपस्वान्न-

तर्काख्यानकमन्त्रनीतिशकुनक्ष्माकट्पुराणस्मृति-

श्रियोऽध्यात्मजगत्स्थितिप्रवचनी व्युत्पत्तिरत्रोच्यते ॥

Bori Ms., p. 1a.

And on all these topics, Śrīdeva considers himself qualified to explain and remarks that he and Somadeva himself are the two who could clear the doubts in this work.

अहं वा काव्यकर्ता वा तौ द्वावेवेश्वराविह । *ibid.*

A comparison of Śrutasāgara's commentary with Śrīdeva's

shows that the former has utilised the latter completely.⁶ Part I, p. 6, Śloka 20 : लोको युक्तिः कलाः छन्दः अलंकाराः समयागमाः ।

The line mentions the 'Sāmagrīs' of poetry and can be compared with *Bhāmaha*, I. 9 :

शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थाः इतिहासाभयाः कथाः ।

लोको युक्तिः कलाश्चेति मन्तव्याः काव्यगैरमी ॥

and *Vāmana* I. 3. 1—3 :

लोको विद्या प्रकीर्णं च काव्याङ्गानि ॥१॥ शब्दस्मृत्यभिधानकोशछन्दोविवर्ति-
कलाकामशास्त्रदण्डनीतिपूर्वा विद्याः ॥३॥

P. 8, śl. 27 refers to *Vakrokti* and *Stabhārokti* and the desirability of employing both.

न चैकान्तेन वक्रोक्तिः स्वभावाख्यानमेव वा ।

बुधानां प्रीतये किन्तु द्वयं कान्ताजनेष्विव ॥

P. 25. चरणानखसंपादितरतिरहस्यरत्नदीपविरचनैः । There is probably an allusion here by *śleṣa* to Kokkoka's work, *Ratirahasya*, and an old commentary on it called *Ratna-dīpa*. On this probability and its bearing on the date of the *Ratirahasya*, see my Note in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*,

P. 41. पारिपुङ्ख इवानात्मनीनवृत्तिः । According to both Śrīdeva and Śrutasāgara, Pāripuṅkha is Buddha; according to the latter, Pāripuṅkha is Buddha's father.

P. 43. त्रिकमतदीक्षितस्येव । A reference to the Anuttara Pratyabhijñā Śaiva school of Kashmir. त्रिकमतः त्र्यम्बकसमयः त्रयोवि कानि ईक्षणानि यस्येति व्युत्पत्तेः—Śrīdeva.

P. 88. पुरस्थानीयद्रोणमुखकार्वटिकसंग्रहनिगमग्रामविश्वंभराः—
refers to different kinds of places like town, city and so on. *Pura* seems to denote a capital and fort-city : Śrīdeva says : पुरं परिखावप्रतलीप्राकारादिसमन्वितम् राजाधिष्ठितं च । *Sthānīya* is the centre of a circle of 800 villages; *Dronamukha*

⁶ The two citations from Śrīdeva given by Śrutasāgara, noted above, occur on pp. 7b and 13b of the BORI MS of Śrīdeva's commentary.

is the headquarters of a group of 400 villages; *Kārvaṭika* comprises 200 villages; *Saṅgraha* has only 10 villages under it; Śrīdeva's explanations are those taken from Kauṭalya himself who says in II. i. 19 :

अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयम्, चतुःशतग्राम्या दोणमुखम्, द्विशतग्राम्या कार्वटिकम्, दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण संग्रहणम् स्थापयेत् ।

Dr. Shama Śāstrī quotes in the footnotes here from the Jain works, *Rajaprasānīyaryākhyāna* and *Praśna-nyākaraṇasūtraryākaraṇa*. According to these authorities, *Droṇamukha* are places to be approached only through boats.

Kauṭalya refers again to *Droṇamukha* and *Sthūnīya* in connection with laying roads. See also III. 10. 61. *Saṅgraha*, *Droṇamukha* and *Sthūnīya* are mentioned also in III. 1. 58.

Nigama, Śrīdeva says, comprises a lakh of villages :
नगमः लक्षग्रामः ।

P. 90. A reference to schools of grammar—कैशिकेद्
ऐन्द्र-जैनेन्द्र-चान्द्र-आपिशल—याशिनीयाद्यनेकव्याकरण्योपदिश्यमान etc.

P. 91. नीतिशास्त्रैव प्रकाशितशमयोगतीर्थोद्योगैः । The *Tīrthas* of Arthaśāstra mentioned here are the 18 offices of the State, *Mantrin*, *Senāpati*, etc. Another reference to these *Tīrthas* occurs on p. 216.

P. 133. पर्यन्तपादपैः संपादितकुसुमोपहारः प्रदत्तरत्नावलिः (रत्नावलिः)
इव गुहापरियरेषु—is a reference to the temporary floral designs drawn with white and coloured powder by our womenfolk, for decorating the floor, and called *Raṅgarallī*, *Raṅgolī*, *Alpanā* or *Kolam* (Tamil). According to the Sanskrit Texts on Painting, this is called *Kṣaṇika-Citra* and is classified into *Dhūli-Citra* (with dry powder) and *Rasa-Citra* (with coloured solution). See my article on Sanskrit Texts on Painting, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 905-6.

Three other references to this *Raṅgarallī* on the floor are to be found on pp. 350, 369 and Pt. II, p. 24.

(a) अकालक्षेपं दक्षस्व रत्नावलिप्रदानेषु । P. 350.

(b) अनल्पकूर्पररागपरिकल्पितरङ्गावल्लिविधानम्—[A description of the courthall, where the white *Karpūra* dust is used for these drawings. P. 369.

(c) चरणनलस्फुटितेन रङ्गवल्लीमयीन् इव असहमानया । A reference to such designs worked permanently by fixing coloured stones on the floor, in the queen's apartments.

For a fourth reference, see Pt. II, p. 247—रङ्गवल्लीषु परमागकल्पनम्— which speaks of devising a ground which would set off the design.

P. 188, verse 187 refers to the countries Āśmantaka, Pallava, Cola, Pāṇḍya and Ve(ce)rama kings. On p. 189, Somadeva mentions Kerala, Vaṅga, Cola, Pallava, Kuntala, Malaya, Vanavāsi, Karṇāṭa, Kurujāṅgala and Kamboja.

The remarks of the commentator Śrutasāgara on these place-names are interesting :

P. 188. हे अश्मन्तक सपादलक्षपर्वतनिवासिन् १।

हे पल्लव पञ्चद्रामिल ।

हे चोलेश । चोलदेशो दक्षिणापथे वर्तते । संगपुरपते (गङ्गापुरपते in a ms.) ।

हे पाण्ड्य सूक्ष्मवज्रोत्पत्तिनगराधीश । दक्षिणापथाभिः पाण्ड्य देशो वर्तते । पाण्ड्यो देशो द्विविधः, पाण्ड्यः अन्तरपाण्ड्यश्च ।

* * * *

P. 189. पल्लवरमणीनां पञ्चद्रामिलस्त्रीणाम् ।

वनवासियोधितां गिरिसोपानादिनगरस्त्रीणाम् ।

कर्णाटयुवतीनां विदरादिक्रीणाम् ।

On the name Pallava used as meaning the Tamils, see my Notes on Some Ancient South-Indian Political Geographical Terms in the *Annals of Oriental Research*,

¹ 'Sapādalakṣa' is found mentioned as the territory of the Cāhamāns of Śākambhari. See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. I.*, Vol. II; pp. 937. 1067 (Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* refers to the king of Sapādalakṣa ruling from Śākambhari). Dr. N. Venkaṭaramanayya drew my attention to this.

University of Madras, Vol. V, Pt. 2. Who may be the five Tamil peoples in the expression '*Pañca drāmila*'? The expression occurs in the Mīraj plates of Jayasimha II, dated 1024 A.D., which refer to the Cola king, Rājendra Cola Gaṅgaikondān, as lord of the five Drāmila countries. (*Epi. Ind.* xii, p. 295. *Ind. Ant.* viii, p. 18.)^a The five Tamil countries intended here can only be the Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya territories together with the Juṇḍira or Kāñcī maṇḍala which was the territory of the Pallavas, and Veṅgī country of the Telugus which came under Cola hegemony. That a Telugu territory was part of this Pañcadrāmila is also borne out by a passage in the Telugu work *Paṇḍitārādhya-carita* which says that the *Pañcadrāciḍa* included nine lakhs Telugus.

-tsūnondan arali pañcadra-vidamula-
to naralakṣa teluṅgu.

Parvata prakaraya; p. 415, pt. 2, *Andhra Grantha-mālā* 30. The Gaṅgāpura mentioned by Śrutasāgara as the Cola capital is the Gaṅgaikondacolapuram built by Rājendracola as a new capital to commemorate his Ganges expedition; in Somadeva's own time, however, Tanjore was the Cola capital. The gloss on Pāṇḍya shows that in Śrutasāgara's time, Madura was well known for its fine textiles; but the two Pāṇḍyas mentioned by him are obscure; we do not know if the territory of the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍyas, who were patrons of Jainism, is kept in mind by Śrutasāgara^b. Vaijayantī is the well-known capital of

^a This reference as well as the one in the *Paṇḍitārādhya-carita* which follows was given to me by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

^b Dr. N. Venkataramanayya points out that this might contain some allusion to the Pañca-Pāṇḍya found in Inscription (*Epi. Ind.*, V., p. 103) and Literature (Tamil. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *Colas*, II, p. 20). See also Dr. Venkataramanayya's *Early Muslim Expansion in S. I.*, pp. 45-6, where some Persian sources are noted as referring to the Pañca-Pāṇḍyas.

Banavāsi; Śrutasāgara's Girīśopāna is not identifiable. So also is his Vidara¹⁰ of Karpāṭa.

P. 196: अहो धर्मवलोक महीपाल । Dharmāvaloka is a Rāṣtrakūṭa royal title. On the significance of this and similar passages, see my article on Somadeva in the *New Indian Antiquary* mentioned previously. See also Part 2, p. 79, अहो धर्मवलोक ।

P. 202: मावसङ्करः संसर्गविद्यासु. Both the commentators say that *Samsargavidyā* means Bharata, i.e., *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

P. 202: शृङ्खलसंपातः पत्रच्छेदेषु *Patraccheda* or *Patracchedya* is one of the sixty-four arts; it is the cutting of designs on leaves like *Pān* with scissors, and forms an endowment of the Nāgarakas who engage themselves in it while sitting in *Goṣṭhī* and chatting. The *Kāmasūtra* mentions it in I. 3. 16, list of *Kalās*, as *Viśeṣakacchedya*, and the commentator, Jayamaṅgalākāra, mentions the same *Kalā* as *Patracchedya*, and explains the word *Viśeṣaka* as referring to forehead-mark, *Tilaka*, cut on leaves like *Bhūrja*. (P. 33, Chowk. edn.). But references in the *Sūtras* of Vātsyāyana himself show us that this cutting on leaves of greater scope and use in love-affairs. In III. 4. 4, Vātsyāyana suggests that the lover may send to the Kanyā of his attention designs cut on leaves showing his attention and mind, designs such as a loving *par*, of swans, etc. पत्रच्छेदक्रियायां च स्वामिप्रायदचकं मिथुनमस्या दशयेत् । In the *Pāradūrika* again, V. 4. 38, these *Patracchedyas* of suggestive designs and forms are mentioned as aids in love-making. पत्रच्छेदानि नानामिप्रायाकृतीनि दशयेत् ॥ Dāmodara Gupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* contains three references to this *Patracchedya*: Śl. 124—पत्रच्छेदविधाने । Śl. 74—पत्रच्छेदमजानन् जानन् वा कौशलं कलाविषये । प्रकटयति जनसमाजे विभ्राणः पत्रकर्तरी सततम् ॥

[To be Continued.]

¹⁰ According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, Vidara may be the same as Bidara, a town in N. Karpāṭaka, mentioned in both *Inscription and Literature*, and where a family of Jain chiefs ruled.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

**SILVER JUBILEE VOLUME OF THE ANNALS OF THE
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
(1917—1942):** Edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar.
Pp. vii+684.

The present volume is the twenty-third volume of the "*Annals*." It has been issued as a Special Jubilee Number on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The volume deals with varieties of subjects and can be broadly classified under nine different heads—1. Veda and Avesta; 2. Epics and Purāṇas; 3. Classical and Modern Literature; 4. Philosophy and Religion; 5. History, Archæology, and Epigraphy etc.; 6. Linguistics; 7. Sociology; 8. Technical Sciences; and 9. Study of Manuscripts. In all there are 79 articles. Almost all the contributions are from the scholars who are regarded experts in their special branches of studies. Most of these contributions throw new light on the topics dealt with. The editor deserves our congratulations for having been able to bring out such an interesting number of the "*Annals*" on this auspicious occasion in the history of the Institute. We cannot forget to express our sense of gratitude to those scholars whose original contributions and enthusiastic co-operation alone are responsible for the success of this number.

TRIBES IN ANCIENT INDIA: By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 4. Published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. First edition, 1943. Pp. xix + 428.

Dr. B. C. Law needs no introduction to the scholarly circle. His original contributions to the different branch-

es of Indology particularly Buddhism are too well known. The work under review deals with the tribes of Ancient India. Even before this, Dr. Law had written on the history of tribes, mainly of the Kṣatriya class. In the present work, however, the author has not confined himself to any particular class, but presents to the literary world a "comprehensive and systematic account of some tribes inhabiting different parts of India, who played an important part in the early history of India."

In 75 chapters the author has dealt with over one hundred and fifty small and big tribes of ancient India. For the exhaustive treatment of each, the author has ransacked all possible references found scattered in the vast literature of the country. He has utilised all the available sources—Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jainas and tried to present them in an interesting manner. Almost all his statements are fully documented which makes the work quite authentic as well. But sometimes though he has quoted authority for his statement, he has not tried to look into the reality. For instance, in Chapter XXVII, p.103, he says—"Nowadays, Benares extends four miles along the bank of the river, which here descends to the water with a steep brink. Down this brink are built flights of steps known as ghats, at the foot of which pilgrims bathe and dead bodies are burnt."—For the authority of this the author refers to the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p.14. But we know that this is not so. In fact, it is only in a lonely corner of the *Maṇikarnikā* and the *Kedāra* ghats that dead bodies are burnt and no person ever bathes there. However, the book is quite interesting and informative. There is ample matter here for the ancient period of Indian history. The author deserves our congratulation for this important contribution.

THE ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE GĪTĀ: By Professor P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Retired Principal and Professor of Philosophy, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras; Śrī Krishna Library Series No. 6; Śrī Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras. 1943. Pp. vi + 159. Price Rs. 2/-

Professor Srinivasachari is a well-known scholar of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. His recent book on the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita is an authoritative work. The author in the present work has treated the ethical viewpoint found in the *Bhagavadgītā* in the light of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. He has been very clear in his treatment and his outlook is never confused like so many other philosophers. He has examined the position of all the schools of philosophy to evaluate his own. Though he is primarily a philosopher of Western thought, yet he is free from all the prejudices which we generally find in most cases. The book is quite interesting and useful for those who want to study the ethical aspect of the *Gītā* according to Viśiṣṭādvaita.

Proceedings of the Inauguration of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute held on November 17, 1943

*The members of the Macdonnell University Hindu Boarding
House were at home to the guests. A very large gathering
of ladies and gentlemen was present. The*

Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,

P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL D.,

D.C.L., presided.

The proceedings opened with a prayer in Sanskrit,
followed by two Sanskrit poems composed for the occasion
by Pandit Jayakishora Jha and Pandit Laksmikanta
Diksita:—

॥ श्रीदुर्गामाधवगणेशाः पान्नु ॥

यत्कीर्तिचन्द्रधवलीकृत एव विश्वविद्यालयो लसति सम्प्रति काशिकायाम् ।
सम्राट् स्वयं वशयुपैति किमन्यदुक्त्या भक्त्या स मान्य इह सम्प्रति मालवीयः ॥१॥
लल्लल्लगुगयुतेन्दे वैक्रमे भव्यमासे सहसि बहुलपद्मे स्कन्दतिथ्या बुधेहि ।
कुलपतिवरगङ्गानाथविद्यालयोऽयं प्रकटित इह दृष्येन्मालवीयेन्दुनाथ ॥२॥

शाके बाणषडङ्गभूपरिमिते मार्गेऽहि चन्द्रात्मजे
पद्मे मेचक उग्रनन्दनतिथा आगत्य यः स्वादरात् ।
गङ्गानाथमहाशयस्मृतिवृत्ते विद्यालयोऽघाटनम्
प्रेम्णा संरचयन् विराजदु महाचेताः स मे मालवी ॥३॥
जैमिनीये जैमिनिर्यः कापिले कपिलोऽपरः ।
स्मृतिवेदान्तकाणादशङ्करप्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥४॥
सोऽयं स्वःस्थोऽपि सद्विद्यामन्दिरं प्रविलोकयन् ।
गङ्गानाथः कुलपतिर्भैथिलः सम्प्रसीदतु ॥५॥
तेजबहादुरसम्प्रभूषितपरिषज्जनाः प्रमासन्ते ।
कमलानां सङ्घा इव भास्करतेजःसमाच्छ्रिताः ॥६॥
वाङ्मूर्च्छासलरकुलचन्द्रो जीव्याच्छरदः शतं प्रपूर्णाशः ।
यन्महिमावरतीर्थे विद्वज्जनरङ्गको नितराम् ॥७॥

॥ इति शम् ॥

श्लोपाहः श्रीजयकिशोरशर्मा

सौदामिनीविद्यालयाध्यक्षः

भङ्गलाचरणम्

गणपतिपरिवारं चारुकेयूरहारं गिरिधरवरसारं योगिनीचक्रचारम् ।
भवभयपरिहारं सर्वदा यत्नसारं गणपतिमभिवन्दे वक्रतुण्डावतारम् ॥१॥
वरदविशदहस्तं दक्षिणं यस्य हस्तं सदयमभयदं तं चिन्तये चित्रसंस्थम् ।
शवलकुटिलशुण्डं चैकतुण्डं द्वितुण्डं गणपतिमभिवन्दे सर्वदा वक्रतुण्डम् ॥२॥

मुखे ते ताम्बूलं नयनयुगले कञ्जमलकला
ललाटे काश्मीरं विलसति गले मौक्तिकलता ।
स्फुरत्काञ्ची शाटी पृथुकटितटे हाटकमयी
भजामस्त्वा गौरी नगपतिकिशोरीमविरतम् ॥३॥

अमलिने नलिने ननु भारति शशिसिते वसतिर्यदि ते प्रिया ।
तव पदस्मरणाद् विशदे सदा वस सतां सदये हृदये तदा ॥४॥

श्रद्धाञ्जलिः

निखिलपण्डितमण्डलमण्डितं निजगुणैर्विमलैः परिसम्भृतम् ।
कमलयागमलया च विभूषितं 'मदनमोहन'मत्र उपास्महे ॥१॥

× × × ×

गहनदर्शनशास्त्रविमर्शनैः प्रवचनैः परमार्थसमर्थनैः ।
परमतत्त्वमतेर्यच्च तत्तत्त्वेषां विजयतां सुतरां विदुषां यशः ॥२॥

मतिमतां महितेषु च तेषु यः परमपुरुषसाम्यमुपेयिवान् ।
प्रचुरसंस्कृतशिष्यगणार्थिनं कमपि सूरिवरं तमुपास्महे ॥३॥

सदा गता खानि सुषेव यत्कथा रसप्रभां न प्रतनोत्यनल्पशः ।
सुराशिरूपो महसां महीयसां मतिं मदीयाममलीकरोत्वसौ ॥४॥

अपाठयद् यान् किल शिष्यतल्लजान् निसर्गधीराश्च सताञ्च सम्मतान् ।
विकीर्यतेऽद्यापि न किं सदैव तैर्नवं नवं चाकतरं वरं यशः ॥५॥

तेने येन सुषावदातममलं गीर्वाणवाणीयशो
रेमे शास्त्रकलाफलापकलिते विद्वद्विवादे मुदा
अहे चासमकार्यजालजटिलः सर्वोभरः स्वस्थिते-
गङ्गानाथमहाशयः कुलपतिः स भद्रया वन्द्यते ॥६॥

अनुदिनमनवच्छाद्युषतिं यातु 'संस्था' प्रथयतु नवलोत्तरद्वितां पत्रिकाञ्च ।
प्रतिपल्लकमनोवैर्यन्दनीयैश्च कार्यैर्नयतु च नवमोदं पण्डितं कीर्तिशेषम् ॥७॥
धन्यः 'प्रयागो' 'मिथिला'पि धन्या शिष्यास्तदीयार्चं सुतार्चं धन्याः ।
बुधान्वितेयं परिषद् धन्या धन्या वयं तद्गुणगानतश्च ॥८॥

Maulana Muhammad Ali Nami recited the following verses:

شراب عیش دنیا میں جو زہر مرگ ہے شامل
 تو لطف چند روزہ اس سے ہو جاتا ہے سب زائل
 نظر اتنی ہیں تصویریں جو اس دنیا کی محفل میں
 جو چشم غرر سے دیکھا تو پاتے نقش سب باطل
 نہیں رنگ و نوا ہوئے بقا ہرگز کسی گل میں
 چمن کا پتہ ہنہ بھی خزاں کی سمت ہے مائل
 وہ تصویریں جو زیب محفل مہر و محبت تھیں
 اجل نے کردی اُن کے رخ پہ دیوار فنا حائل
 کہان وہ لوگ جو دنیا میں مشہور زمانہ تھے
 ہیں انکے چند انسانے فقط قصے محض ناول
 چنانچہ مجمع اوصاف گنگا ناتھ جہا پنڈت
 وہ یونیورسٹی کے فکھر وائس چانسلر فاضل
 انہیں آخر کیا ہم یہ جدا چرخ ستمگر نے
 سبھی کو ایک دن ہونا ہے اسکی تیغ سے گھاتل
 بنا دالی ہے اس میموریل کی یاد میں انکی
 ملے عمر دوام اسکو خدا کا فضل ہو شامل
 زمانہ میں الہی فیض اسکا ہر طرف پھیلے
 تیری امداد سے آسان ہو جاتے ہر ایک مشکل
 دعا ہے نا ابد قائم رہے یہہ انسٹیٹیوٹ اُنکا
 اور انکے نام نامی کو ہمیشہ یاد رکھے دل

The following poem by Dr. Ram Kumar Varma was read:

(१)

जिनकी मर्यादा में कुलपति का था अभिनव आदर्श ज्ञान ।
जो विद्या के सागर थे जिनकी गति में था दर्शन-विधान ॥
प्रतिभा का शशि प्रतिबिम्बित हो जिनमें शत शत अरविद बना ।
उनकी स्मृति से है आज हमारा हृदय हो रहा दीप्तिमान ॥

(२)

गंगा की पावन सुधा-धार उर शीतल करती है अपार ।
ऐसी प्रिय वाणी की तरंग जीवन में करती थी प्रसार ॥
जीवन के विषम विरोध जहाँ समता पाते थे निर्विकार ।
ऐसे भी गंगानाथ साय हैं अब भी जीवन में उदार ॥

(३)

वे व्रती तपस्वी थे क्षण क्षण में दिव्य साधना, दिव्य कांति !
जो ज्ञान-दिशाएं धुँधली थीं, उनमें न रही अणुमात्र भ्रांति ॥
वे ऐसे पुण्य प्रमाकर हैं, जो ज्ञानोदय में हैं महान ।
उनसे कितने शशि 'अमर' बने जिनमें मिलती है आज शांति ।

(४)

उनकी पावन वश-ज्योत्स्ना में संस्कृति की शोभा है अपार ।
उनके आदर्शों में पाते हैं, हम जीवन का दिव्य द्वार ॥
उनके इंगित पथ पर चलकर हम, पा लेंगे ध्रुव सत्य सार ।
उनके चरणों पर आज प्रेम की अर्द्धांजलि है बारबार ॥

The following poem in Urdu composed by Capt. S. M. Zamin Ali was read:

دل اُمتد آیا جو آئے یاد گنگا ناتھ جہا
 آنکھ بھر آتی جو اُنکا تذکرہ ہونے لگا
 جلسۂ علمی میں کل کی بات ہے آئے تھے وہ
 شعلۂ تقریر سے محفل کو گرماتے تھے وہ
 دوسروں کے موت پر ہوئے تھے کل تک اشکبار
 آج بستی ہے زمانے میں انہیں کی یادگار
 ہوئے اوجھل آنکھ سے ہیں اب دلوں میں وہ مکس
 جتنے دل ہیں اتنی انکی یادگاریں بن چکیں
 ہل مگر بنتی جو ہے یہ یادگار مرکزی
 ترجمان ہوگی ہر اک کے دلکی محسوسات کی
 زندہ انکا نام نامی رکھیگی مابین خلق
 فیض کے چشمے کو جاری رکھیگی مابین خلق
 ذات والا تھی سبق آموز طرز زندگی
 علم کی خدمت عین ساری عمر اپنی صرف کی
 مذہب و ملت کے جھگڑوں سے ہمیشہ تھے بری
 ان کے حق آگاہ دلیں اسکی گنجائش نہ تھی
 دلیں گھر ہر ایک کے کرتی تھی ان کی سادگی
 جس پہ ہوں آرائشیں قربان وہ سادہ روی
 عالم و فاضل ادیب نکتہ دان و فلسفی
 واقف جملہ علوم مغربی و مشرقی
 ذات سے ان کے تھے ایوان ادب میں روشنی
 جگمگا اٹھی قدم سے ان کے یونیورسٹی
 یوں تو ہر صیف پہ تھی انکی عنایت کی نظر
 اردو ہندی پر مگر تھی خاص الفت کی نظر

دونوں شعبے آپ ہی کے عہد زریں میں بنے
 آپ کی امداد سے یہ دونوں پڑھتے ہی رہے
 کم ہے جتنا بھی کرے نظر آپ پر ہندوستان
 اعلیٰ تعلیمات میں داخل ہوئی اردو زبان
 تھی تمنا یہ کہ کچھ دن اور زندہ رہتے آپ
 اس زبان کو آگے تعلیم بنوا دیتے آپ
 آنسوؤں کے چند موتی اور عقیدت کے یہ پھول
 نظر کو لایا ہے ضامن کیجئے اسکو قبول

The Secretary then presented his report and read out the following letter received from Sir S. Radhakrishnan:

My dear Dr. Umesha Mishra,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th. I am very sorry that it will not be possible for me to be present at your function and pay my tribute of great admiration for the character, personality and scholarship of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha. He was one of the outstanding scholars of Sanskrit philosophy and literature in recent times. His translations of Sanskrit Philosophical Classics have been the source material for many doctorate dissertations. I am very glad to know that you wish to perpetuate the memory of this illustrious savant by opening an institute in his name. You have my very best wishes for the success of this function and the future of this Institute.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
 Sd. S. Radhakrishnan

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Dr. Ganganatha Jha died on November 10, 1941. Shortly afterwards, his numerous pupils and admirers felt that his memory should be perpetuated in a fitting manner. Encouragement came through an offer made by the hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwara Bahadur Singh of Darbhanga to donate Rs. 25,000 as a nucleus for a Memorial Fund. Owing to the abnormal conditions that prevailed a start could not be made before December, 1942. In that month an appeal for funds was issued under the signature of over fifty eminent scholars and public men, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the hon. Mr. Aney, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Bhagwan Das, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Raja of Chettinad, Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the hon. Sir Sita Ram, Sir T. Vijairaghavachariar, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Dr. Panna Lall, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, the hon. Dr. Hridaynath Kunzru, Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh, Mr. Syed Abu Mohammad, M. M. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, M. M. P. V. Kane, Dr. Krisnaswamy Aiyangar, Rao Raja Shyam Bihari Mishra, Dr. Brijendra Swarup, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Kunwar Gangananda Singh, Dr. N. P. Asthana, Mr. J. R. Gharpure. A local Executive Committee was formed with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman, Rai Bahadur Pandit Brajmohan Vyas as Treasurer, myself as Secretary, and Professor Amaranatha Jha, Dr. Tara Chand, Dr. A. S. Siddiqi, Rai Bahadur Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Prof. R. D. Ranade and Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya as members. This Committee has met frequently and has collected more than Rs. 65,000 already. The principal donors are Sir Padampat Singhanian, His Highness the Maharaja of

Tehri Garhwal, Mr. H. G. Misra, the Raja of Korea. Active steps are being taken to collect more funds and it is expected that 1½ lakhs will be collected before many months.

It was felt that the most appropriate shape which the memorial could take was an Oriental Research Institute. A project for such an institute was sponsored by the Government of India in 1911 and was warmly welcomed by Dr. Jha who was a member of the Committee which met in Simla that year. Ultimately, however, the powers that be decided to establish a school of Oriental Studies in London. The Institute which is now being started at Allahabad will be a centre for research and publication primarily in the classics; it will have a collection of books and manuscripts; it will have stipends for research scholars; it will undertake the publication of original works, of translations, and of research papers. It will publish an Oriental Research Journal, the first issue of which has been issued to-day. It will foster the traditional scholarship of the land and also use the methods of modern scientific investigation. Such an Institute, we feel, is the best memorial that can be erected in honour of one who combined in himself the depth and soundness of the Pandit and the breadth of outlook and liberalism of the modern scholar. We hope to have an up-to-date library, principally of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian, Arabic books; full sets of learned journals and manuscripts. We intend to have full-time salaried scholars and a number of research students. Dr. Jha's valuable library of books and manuscripts has been given by his sons to the Institute. Pandit Kubernath Sukul has gifted a valuable collection, consisting of a thousand manuscripts, including a hundred Persian manuscripts. Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta and Mr. Sambasadashiva Sastri have also presented some manuscripts. The authorities of the Hindu Boarding

House have generously offered to house the Institute until it has a building of its own. It is hoped that a centrally situated plot of land will be available for the construction of the Institute building. The actual building operations will of course have to be put off until normal economic conditions are restored. But it was felt that the opening of the Institute should not be further delayed. The Journal has been published to-day under the editorship of Professor Ranade, Dr. Siddiqi, and myself and contains contributions from the leading orientalists of the country. Material for the second issue is already in hand.

Sir Ganganatha Jha's own literary labours covered a very wide field. His works included literature, law, religion, and the various systems of philosophy. He had the highest regard for all forms of learning. It is our hope that those who work in for the Institute will be inspired by his ideals. The Committee is fortunate in having as its Chairman an eminent scholar whose intellectual integrity and scholarly attainments are universally respected. Under Dr. Sapru's inspiring leadership we are confident that the project will receive wide support. We are exceedingly grateful to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for his kindness in consenting to open the Institute, despite his poor health. He is honoured wherever learning and high character are honoured; he is honoured both for what he is and what he has achieved. He was for about 50 years a personal friend of Dr. Jha's; and the Institute could not have been started under better auspices.

With these words I place before you an account of what the Committee has done, the hopes that it entertains, the aims it seeks to achieve, and the ideals it cherishes. We hope that this Institute will add materially to the store of learning and will become a true centre of light.

The President then requested Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to perform the opening ceremony of the Institute, saying, "May I very respectfully ask you, Sir, to do it."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then delivered his inaugural address.

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you for the honour that you have done me in asking me to come to open this Institute.

Dr. Ganganatha Jha was one of the most eminent scholars of his time. There were few persons in whom were combined in an equal measure both deep knowledge and modern learning and research. He was respected for his learning; he was respected even more for his purity of character and for his devotion to learning. It is in the fitness of things that at a place which was the scene of his activities for so many years he should be remembered by an Institute like the Research Institute which you propose to establish in his name. This is a most fitting memorial at a very suitable place.

To students Dr. Ganganatha Jha was always a source of inspiration for his devotion to learning, his scholarship, and his simple way of living for which he was noted. To the students of Sanskrit there cannot be a better ideal for inspiration than an Institute of this kind erected in memory of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. To scholars he will be a constant source of inspiration because throughout his long life he was a most devoted scholar. To students and teachers he was a source of constant help. For the general public one cannot think of any Institute better than this for the higher study of the classics. Dr. Ganganatha Jha will always be remembered for his depth of learning and for his contributions to Sanskrit studies and his researches.

As regards a memorial for Dr. Ganganatha Jha I cannot think of anything better than this Institute. We have not sufficiently appreciated the manuscripts that lie

buried in numerous places in the country. I can assure you from the little knowledge that I have about manuscript collections of some of important places that they are a source of great and useful knowledge to students of Sanskrit. Manuscripts might be regarded by material observers as not being useful, but that is a mistake. In the first place these manuscripts excite our imagination and admiration and in the second place they remind us of the days when the press did not exist and of the deep labour with which these manuscripts were written. It is a matter for wonder and admiration to see with what pains the scholars of the past carried out the work of writing these manuscripts. In many of the State libraries, for instance, in Bikaner, Travancore and other places we have a large number of books written by hand which have yet to be published.

There is need for more than one centre like the one you are proposing to erect here. I hope and pray that your efforts may be crowned with success and that you may be able really to build up an active centre of research for ancient Sanskrit learning and other oriental languages. Knowledge is universal and it ought to be popularised. We hope that this centre will be a means of creating such other centres.

I do not think that I should detain you any further. I am anxious to hear my most esteemed friend, the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. I thank you once more for having done me the honour of asking me to open this Institute. I declare the Institute open."

Then the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said:

"Panditji, ladies and gentlemen,

As President of the Ganganatha Jha Memorial Committee I desire to thank you all for having assembled this evening in such large numbers. I regard your presence

as an expression of approval of the step which my Committee has taken in this matter. But if there is one man in this crowd to whom our thanks are due more than to any other person, it is our revered leader, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the living embodiment of lifelong service to the cause of learning, knowledge and education all over the country. (Applause.) I very well remember, more than forty years ago, as an obscure young man I attended the ceremony connected with the laying of the foundation of this hostel which is one of the many creations of Panditji. He could have hardly foreseen and yet he sees it to-day that this institution, this hostel, the foundation of which was laid more than forty years ago, will be the scene for the laying of the foundation of another institute intended to perpetuate the name of a great scholar and to strengthen the claim of classical education in our country. It must be a source of supreme pleasure and satisfaction to him. We are particularly indebted to him for having attended this function and blessed the inauguration of this Institute. Weighed down with years, in feeble health and yet possessing a heart burning with love for the country and with love of knowledge and learning, he has taken the trouble to come here and there could not be a better augury for the future of this Institute. To you, Sir, Allahabad, in particular, though you have deserted us in recent years, owes a debt which we will never be able to repay either in this generation or in succeeding generations. Young men whom I see in my presence here can scarcely realise the extent or the depth of the service of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the cause of education in these Provinces. I, therefore, desire to thank you on behalf of the Committee, and may I add on my behalf, for having taken the trouble of coming to this function.

Now, I would like to pay a tribute, my own tribute, to the memory of that great scholar in whose honour we

have met this evening. It is rather ridiculous that an ignoramus like myself who cannot pretend to possess any knowledge of Sanskrit should have been called upon to preside over a function like this, and yet I honestly assure you that during the 30 or 40 years that I was privileged to know Pt. Ganganatha Jha there was scarcely a man in Allahabad whom I held in greater esteem than Pt. Ganganatha Jha. It added to my stature as an Indian when in 1935 I happened to be in Paris and was invited by Professor Sylvan Levy to a function very similar to that which we are holding to-day; and at Sorbonne University, Sylvan Levy surrounded by many other orientalists made very keen enquiries about Pt. Ganganatha Jha. I remember the very words which he used: 'That man is an ocean of learning,' he said. You can imagine how proud I must have felt as an Indian that I was a countryman and contemporary of a great scholar who had not left India, whose orthodoxy would not have permitted him to leave India, and yet whose reputation had travelled nearly 6,000 miles away from this country. He rendered signal service to the cause of education in these Provinces and to the Allahabad University, but there is one service which he rendered and of which I will remind you. He has left in my friend, Pt. Amaranatha Jha, a son worthy of his predecessor, who has maintained the traditions of his father in the University. Well if I am not guilty of a breach of confidence and if I do not anticipate the press, I may say that last night I was reading an address which he is going to deliver two or three days hence at some place in these Provinces, and as I read page after page, I was moved, and I said, "Here is a man imbued with the classical spirit." It is a very powerful plea which he is going to urge within the next few days for classical education and for greater emphasis on classical education. I speak with great respect in the presence of some Professors of Science

because I am as ignorant of Science as I am ignorant of Sanskrit, but I venture to think—I hope they will correct me—that much of the trouble of the present-day world is due to them. They can say it is not they who have created this trouble, but it is the abuse of their genius which has created the trouble. Whatever it may be, frankly speaking, while I do attach some value—and a great deal I must say frankly from a material point of view—to Scientists and Science, I confess I share with my friend, Dr. Amaranatha Jha, his weakness for the classics. For, young men, if you want to have ideals which would inspire you to a nobler life, which would move you to do service of the country and which would teach you how to live and how to die for those ideals, you will find them not in the pages of scientific books, but in the pages of classical books. I hope I shall not be castigated by my distinguished friends, the Professors of Science. But I confess that it is in the fitness of things that an Institute like this devoted to the study and development of classical languages like Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian should have been founded at this place to perpetuate the memory of one of the greatest classical scholars of our times in this country. I do hope and trust that young men in the University may spare some time from their pursuits for building up constitutions to spend just a little time in the archives of this Institute. They can then interpret in their own way the thoughts of their ancestors just on the lines on which Pt. Ganganatha Jha did in his own days and thus they can strengthen all those bonds which must unite one intellectual man with another.

I will not take more of your time. Our thanks are due to the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, whose munificent gift gave us a start, and to Sir Padampat Singhania, who made a very handsome gift and to other generous donors and I sincerely hope and trust that more funds will

be available to us so that we may actually start building operations and having finished the building, we may lodge our library and invite scholars to carry on the work of research in the traditions of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. I will say no more.

This was followed by the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bajpai, Munshi Ishwar Saran and Dr. Tara Chand:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Uma Shankar Bajpai said:

"Revered Malaviya Ji, Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ladies and gentlemen,

We have all assembled together to pay our homage to the memory of the great scholar, the late Sir Ganganatha Jha. I believe it will come as a surprise to you if I were to say that I am perhaps, if not his oldest, one of his oldest colleagues when he and I were on the staff of the Muir Central College. I remember him, as few men remember him; we were great friends and I consider it a great privilege that I have been called upon to say a few words on this occasion. It is a happy augury that Malaviyaji has opened this Institute. It is being housed in a borrowed building, but the borrowed building is perhaps the first child of our distinguished citizen. It is also in the fitness of things that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is the President of the Committee. As he has said, Pt. Ganganatha Jha has left works, many works, of abiding interest, works which ignorant people like myself cannot appreciate, but one work he has left which we can all appreciate; I mean the Vice-Chancellor. I will say no more. My heart is full. Sir Ganganatha Jha is dead. Long live the Ganganatha Jha Memorial Research Institute."

Munshi Ishwar Saran said:

“Friends, I also consider it a high privilege to be able to take part in the function this afternoon. It is a matter of sincere gratification and thankfulness that the Institute has been opened by a man whose life is a sermon on service and sacrifice and whose idealism is the inspiration of millions of his countrymen all over India. It is also in the fitness of things that a function in honour of a distinguished man should be presided over by another distinguished man who has risen to great heights not only in the profession which he adorns but in the public life of the country as well. To Malaviyaji Maharaj, the founder of the Hindu Boarding House, and to others connected with it it must be a matter of great satisfaction that this Institute is going to have its first home in this building. Long after, when the other building will be ready, it will be remembered that the first home of the Institute was the Hindu Boarding House. I do not think it is necessary to speak at any length about the service, the eminence, the scholarship and the distinction of Pt. Ganganatha Jha. Most of us here know it; we are happy and grateful that not long ago a man lived amongst us who helped us by his work, by his devotion, by his counsel and by his example. Friends, to me the life a man lives is far more important than his ability or scholarship. I can truthfully say that in these days of modernisation and blind imitation Pt. Ganganatha Jha's life had a unique charm about it. He was simple, dignified, courteous, urbane, scholarly and thoughtful. About his learning I am not in a position to say anything. If the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru does not know any Sanskrit, I know less and knowing nothing about Sanskrit I am afraid I cannot pronounce a panegyric on his learning or attainments. All that I heard was that he was a profound scholar, that he was a great thinker and that he tried to look at things from the

scientific point of view. Many of our Pandits are very learned indeed, but I say with great respect and with great regret that they lack the scientific approach to many problems. Panditji had the scientific approach and he was, therefore, able to present things in a way which was acceptable to people of modern times. I am afraid I shall be tiring you if I speak at length, but I wish to tell you that I am a bit of a day-dreamer. Day-dreaming is a malady and I must confess I have got it. When I see with the eye of faith and of hope, I see a noble pile of buildings, sufficient funds, a band of careful, trained and devoted scholars and researchers working in the Ganganatha Jha Institute. You may ask where are the funds, where is the pile of buildings which you see, where is the band of scholars? May I tell you that no difficulty daunts a man who is determined to see a thing done. If the organizers of the Institute and if we who are here and profess our sympathy with the scheme are in earnest as I hope we are, it should not be difficult to achieve what we have in view. If success comes, and it is bound to come provided we are honest and sincere in our efforts, then oriental learning will be able to hold its head high and will no longer remain at the doorsteps of modern learning waiting for the crumbs that might fall from its table. Oriental learning then will be able to make its contribution to the culture and progress of the world. When that is done, Pt. Ganganatha Jha's soul will rejoice. His soul will feel happy that the ideal that he had placed before himself in his life-time was being realised by a band of Hindu, Muslim, Christian men who were going to serve India and humanity through oriental learning."

Dr. Tara Chand said:

“Revered Malaviya Ji, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great privilege to be associated with the opening of Pt. Ganganatha Jha Memorial Institute. The opening of the Institute fulfils a long and keenly felt need of this great centre of learning in Allahabad. It provides a fitting memorial to the scholar, who by his learning stood pre-eminent among the Sanskritists of his age. The Institute, as I have said, fulfils a long-felt need. I can recall to my mind many important centres of learning where similar institutes exist. In Oxford there is the Indian Institute where Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are pursued and researches are made. In London there is the Oriental School of Studies. In Paris there is L'Ecole de langues Oriente; in America there is an American Oriental Society and in other countries, Germany, Italy and Russia, there are Oriental Institutes where oriental learning is pursued. In our country unfortunately which is the home of Sanskrit learning, where Arabic and Persian have also flourished for a long time, there has not been an Institute of this type except in one or two places. There is the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona. But besides the Bhandarkar Institute, there is hardly any other Institute of the same kind in this great country. May I say that many such Institutes are needed in this country. It has already been said by previous speakers that there are in our country numerous manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian which require to be delved out and which require to be brought to the notice of the world. May I say also that the work of Sanskritists has not yet touched the fringe of this great ocean of learning which lies buried in the ancient libraries in the old cities of India? We have few critical standard editions of ancient Sanskrit works. The Bhandarkar Institute has been busy for the last 20 years

in editing the great work, namely, the *Mahābhārata*, the end of their labours is not yet in sight, but there are numerous other works as important or a little less important than the *Mahābhārata*, which require to be taken up by Institutes like this. If I may be pardoned for a little indication of what I have been doing, may I say that I was working on the translation in Persian of the Upaniṣads made by Darashikoh, in the middle of the seventeenth century. I compared the Persian texts word by word with the Sanskrit texts as published by the Bombay Press and by the Gita Press of Gorakhpur. I discovered that there were many differences between the Persian translation and the Bombay and the Gorakhpur editions of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and I feel that if that was the condition of such a great work as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, what would be the state of the other books of ancient texts which are found in India to-day. Darashikoh had in the seventeenth century the Pandits of Benares to help him in translating manuscripts into Persian. If the texts then available differ from the texts that exist to-day, is it not the duty of the scholars to find out what the real changes are? The work of this description would require a large number of scholars to carry it on for many years. About *Bhagavad-Gītā* which is revered in India by everybody there are many differences of opinion in regard to its text and there are therefore a number of interpretations of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. It is necessary that such a great and important work as the *Bhagavad-Gītā* should be taken up and its text standardized. I need not weary you with other illustrations. I have said enough to prove that not one great Institute but many more Institutes of this kind will be necessary if the learned works of ancient India and mediæval India are to be taken up, edited and interpreted in the proper manner. I said it is befitting that this Institute should be associated with the name of Mahama-

hopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha. All those who have read something of his work know that he was among the most eminent scholars of the world, a man of very wide and deep learning. There is hardly any branch of Sanskrit learning on which he did not work and on which he did not write something. From *Alaṅkāra Śāstra* to *Vedānta* almost every department of Sanskrit learning was under his eyes. But I will not try here to analyse his works or even to place before you the names of the works that he has written. I will, however, say this that in three branches his scholarship and learning is of permanent value. In the first place he translated some of the most difficult of Sanskrit texts into English and brought them to the notice of the scholars of the world. I may say that there are not many Pandits in the country to-day who are capable of understanding and rendering those works into the English language. In the second place I may say that he was one of the greatest of *Dharma Śāstra* scholars in the country. His contribution to legalistic learning was very great indeed. He translated *Manusmṛti* and its commentaries and he has made a great mark in this field and greatly advanced the understanding and interpretation of the *Smṛtis*. But probably his most enduring work is on *Mīmāṃsā* and I think I can say without fear of contradiction that he was regarded as the greatest *Mīmāṃsā* scholar not only in India but all over the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have taken a great deal of your time, but I feel proud that I have been asked to associate myself with the opening of this Institute."

After Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh of Anapur and Professor A. P. Dube proposed a vote thanks. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh spoke in Hindustani, while Prof. Dube in English :

Professor A. P. Dube proposing a vote of thanks said :

“I think the great credit for to-day’s meeting goes to the students of the Hindu Hostel. When the Committee proposed to hold this meeting, they came to the conclusion that they must be ‘At Home’ on such a memorable occasion where Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya Ji was going to be present and where the Institute was going to have its temporary sojourn.

Among the many evils which you have mentioned about the scientists there is one evil which they have spread. A motor driver of to-day because he is able to drive a motor car thinks that he is more civilised than a chariot driver of Greece. The Master of Balliol, Professor Jowett, who was a great classical scholar, declared that an average Athenian was ten times more civilised than an average Londoner or an inhabitant of New York. This shows that the ancient learning which we are going to store in our Hindu Boarding House even temporarily has its value for us to-day, a value not only for us but for the whole world. Sir, I verily imagine that the whole mankind, eliminating some differences, is essentially one. Therefore, whatever has passed in the family of man in one quarter of the globe or in one epoch of the life of mankind is an affair from which all mankind in all ages may profit. These are instructive for us all.

In this connection, Sir, I may remind you that although the Law of Trust is entirely a peculiar institution of English Chancery, the like of which is not to be seen anywhere on the Continent of Europe, it has been bodily transferred to this country and is working well. We have adopted many of the laws of England after having cured them of technicalities and they are working very well in India. In face of this, Sir, it surprises me when people say that the parliamentary institutions of England are not suited to India. At such a statement angels will weep but

gods will laugh. If the scholars who are now going to work in this Institute succeed in fusing the ancient ideals which these records contain into future, I shall be able to say of my country what Emerson said of America,

“She in her native centre fast,
Can into future fuse the past.
And the world’s flowing fates,
In her own mould recast.”

I thank all the guests.”

After this the President requested those who were present to visit the Hall where the manuscripts and books were kept.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

AN APPEAL

The immense services of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to the cause of Sanskrit learning and education are very well known. He was a profound scholar in all the *Suśtras* and a *littérateur* of rare excellence. He combined the depth of knowledge of the old style of learning with the width and critical outlook of the modern scholar in a remarkable measure. First as Principal of the Sanskrit Colleges in Mylapore and Trivadi, and then as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, he played for many years the most decisive part in the designing and the working of the courses of study in Sanskrit, and Indian languages in general, in the University of Madras. He started the Samskrita Academy in 1926 in collaboration with Sri V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar and others, and the Journal of Oriental Research in 1927 with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar as the President of the Executive Committee and himself as the Chief Editor; and as the Curator of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, he organised an intensive campaign of manuscript collection and got together what is to-day one of the finest collections in the world, of which the province is rightly proud to be the owner. During the thirty years of his work as Professor, he trained a number of eminent panditas and young men in the critical methods of the study of Sanskrit works, and brought into being a school of research the members of which are now carrying on research work in the several institutions in and outside Madras. He planned the revision and amplification of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Manuscripts and was Chief Editor of this work for some years. His work as member of the various academic bodies in the Universities of India and in the University of Madras in particular, was always characterised by a thoroughness and high academic perfection which earned for him the deepest respect of his colleagues.

The Public meetings held in the city and elsewhere when the news of his passing away was reported last September and the speeches that were delivered by many scholars and publicists on those occasions gave clear proof of the high esteem in which his work was held and the love and affection his personal qualities evoked.

At the last All India Oriental Conference held at Benares (December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944), the President of the Conference, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, himself a great Sanskritist, made an eloquent appeal for starting a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, and the new Ganganatha Jha Research Institute at Allahabad. Such an Institute would be a fitting

memorial to the great Professor and it could take under its protecting wings the Samskrita Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research that were so dear to the Professor during his lifetime, undertake the publication of the unpublished works of the Professor, and continue the useful work of Research started by him.

Liberal contributions are solicited, towards the realisation of this project which would require a lakh of Rupees as a minimum, and they may be kindly sent to Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore.

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